

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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By Hoxie Neale Fairchild

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author, is the least changeable trait of English literature. Though the texts have been carefully edited, the volume offers nothing of especial interest to the scholar, and will make him wish again for the work that we still wholly lack—a careful study of the lullaby in the period when it was living as a form of song, and especially in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Its relations with the nativity-carol, the song of the girl deserted by her lover, and other modes of popular song offer an attractive and useful field of inquiry which some enterprising young scholars should proceed to cultivate.

MORRIS W. CROLL

Princeton University

Representative British Dramas: Victorian and Modern. New Revised Edition. Edited by MONTROSE J. MOSES. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1931. Pp. xvi + 996. The revised edition of this valuable anthology adds plays by Somerset Maugham, Clemence Dane, Noel Coward, C. K. Munro, and Allan Monkhouse, in place of those by Tennyson, Masfield, and Colum.

Elizabethan Dramatists Other than Shakespeare. Edited by E. H. C. OLIPHANT. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1931. Pp. xiii + 1511. \$4.25. A reissue, without the Shakespeare plays, of Professor Oliphant's *Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*, noticed in this journal for March, 1930.

Shakespeare's Hamlet: The First Quarto, 1603. Reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. 6 + sigs. [A], B—I⁴. \$4.00. Through a collotype reproduction, made with the greatest care by Max Jaffé of Vienna from photostats supplied by the Huntington Library, this important text, only two known copies of which are extant, now becomes available to scholars everywhere.

H. S.

Thomas Fuller. Selections. With Essays by Charles Lamb, Leslie Stephen, Etc. With an Introduction by E. K. BROADUS. Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xvi + 206. With its portrait and facsimile reproductions of the title pages, and its care to reproduce the typography and arrangement of the original volumes, this collection is an excellent effort to 'cream' Fuller for undergraduates. The extracts are representative of his whole work on a scale which assigns forty-five pages to *The Holy* and *The Profane State*, and two pages to *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*.

University of California

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

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A TOURNEUR MYSTIFICATION

Upon the death of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury, someone named "Tourneur" wrote a prose "Character" of the deceased, setting forth his many virtues and noble qualities. Who this Tourneur was has been long a matter of dispute. Recently Mr. Allardyce Nicoll, of the University of London, editing *The Works of Cyril Tourneur* (The Fanfrolico Press, 1929), argued that the writer of this "Character" was the playwright Cyril Tourneur, and not a certain Captain William Tourneur. Since the publication of Professor Nicoll's book, his opinion of the authorship of the "Character" has been somewhat strengthened by the researches of Mr. Bernard M. Wagner of Harvard University. (See his letter in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, April 23, 1931, p. 327.) In the course of their arguments both Professor Nicoll and Mr. Wagner make statements regarding certain contemporary transcripts of the Cecil "Character," preserved in various English libraries, public and private, which require examination.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission, describing one of these copies, the "Mostyn" copy (whose present whereabouts no one seems to know), said—as quoted by Mr. Nicoll—"that the text gave the composition to Seville [*sic*] Turneur." Seccombe, apparently without examining the manuscript, suggested that this "Seville" was probably an error for "Serrill" or "Seril" (*i. e.*, Cyril). What is probably the best and most authentic copy of the "Character" is preserved at the British Museum (MS. Harleian 36). Describing this (p. 26), Professor Nicoll informs his readers that though the elaborate title to the document assigns the authorship to "William Turneur," the manuscript "is signed (evidently) *Cyrill Tourneur*." No explanation is given for the use of the word "evidently" or for the use of the parenthesis. What makes the matter even more puzzling is Mr. Nicoll's subsequent statement

(page 36) that "the piece is signed on the last page as *Cyrrill Tourneur*." Here is no "evidently" and no suggestion of doubt. But when we get to page 331 of the book we are told that Harleian 36 is signed "[Cyrill] Tourneur." Why the word "Cyrill" is printed in square brackets is not explained. And, as if this were not bad enough already, we are subsequently informed (page 336) that "MS. Harl. seems[!] to read *Gvil*." What was "evidently" *Cyrrill* on page 26 "seems" to be *Gvil* on page 336!

Harl. MS. 36 is written in a neat "secretary" (i. e., Gothic) script, but the heading and signature are written in an elegant Roman script, every letter standing by itself, unlinked with the other letters, and formed as precisely as any writing-master could desire. In the beautifully written heading we are told that the essay was "written by m^r William Turneur"; the signature (cf. facsimile 1) is, unequivocally, "*Gvil: Tourneur*."¹ Professor

Gvil: Tourneur.

FACSIMILE 1.

Nicoll thinks that the transcriber was puzzled by the name and confused *Cy* with *G* and *r* with *v*. Seeing that the transcriber wrote, clearly and distinctly, "William Turneur" on the first page of the essay, it is evident that he could not have been puzzled by the name when he came to the signature.

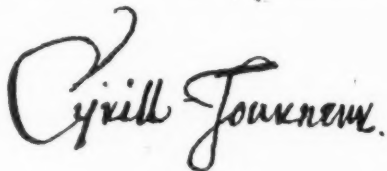
A copy of the "Character" owned by Colonel and Mrs. Clifton, of Clifton Hall, Nottingham—to whose kindness I am indebted for an excellent photograph of the last page of the essay—is signed "Jerill² Turner" in a hand of bastard Roman, the document itself being in a beautiful "secretary". "Jerill" is, clearly, a scribal error. From the fact that this scribe had difficulty in deciphering the manuscript he was copying—he wrote "mine" instead of "manie," "vnusualie" instead of "vneasilie," etc.—it is reasonable to assume that he could not decipher the signature. It is not impossible, therefore, that he misread "serill" (written

¹ It should be noted that a modern hand wrote in pencil the word "Serill" just to the left of "Gvil."

² Though Professor Nicoll prints the baptismal name correctly as "Jerill" on p. 298, he gives it as "Jerril" on p. 331. His transcript of the Clifton Hall manuscripts is not accurate.

with a long minuscular Roman *s*) as "Jerill"; but it is equally possible that "Jerill" is a misreading of "*per* (*i. e.*, "by," written as one letter, a flourished secretary *p*) will". Such a flourished *p* brevigraph³ may easily be mistaken for either *J* or *s*. Minuscular *w* can be mistaken for *er*, and *vice versa*. The "Sevill" of the missing Mostyn copy may have originated in the same way.

Mr. Wagner calls attention to a copy of the "Character" in the Bodleian Library which Mr. Nicoll had overlooked. This document, written throughout in a large, coarse Italian hand, and signed "Cyrill Tourneur", is said (in the Summary Catalogue) to be "probably in the hand of" the dramatist. Examination of the autograph (*cf.* facsimile 2) shows indubitably that the surname



FACSIMILE 2.

had been tampered with, that "sourneur" or "Journneur" had been altered to "Tourneur" by the addition of two head-strokes. The scribe evidently did not know the author's surname; the manuscript is, consequently, not a holograph, and no argument can be based on the signature's being "Cyrill Tourneur."

In his argument for Cyril Tourneur's authorship of the "Character" Professor Nicoll says (p. 37) that the spellings "*hable*" (for "*able*") and "*habillitie*" (for "*ability*") have been noted by Mr. Dugdale Sykes as "characteristically Tourneurian." On page 337, in his note on the word "*habillitie*," Professor Nicoll says, "It is interesting to notice that this spelling of '*ability*' seems to be Tourneur's own." Had Professor Nicoll consulted the *New English Dictionary*, he would have learned that initial *h* in the word "*ability*" was a normal and common phenomenon throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and did not go out of use till almost 1700. The spelling of this word therefore cannot be relied upon to prove anything.

New York, N. Y.

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

³ See my book, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*, p. 128.

ELIZABETHAN PROOF CORRECTIONS

In a recent article on "Elizabethan Proof Corrections" in *The Huntington Library Bulletin* (no. 2, November, 1931) I have been guilty of a careless assumption which I now think probably wrong and certainly unjustified. It does not affect the thesis advanced, but may stand for a horrid example of the way certain minds can fail to cope with phenomena that have only a secondary bearing upon the matter in hand.

The assumption which I wish to disavow is that the four pages of the top or outer forme of signature B in the Bridgewater-Huntington copy of *The First Part of the Contention*, 1600, were printed before the corresponding bottom or inner forme. The fact that all the outer-forme pages contain manuscript corrections, while none of the inner-forme pages do, really proves (or comes near proving) only that the two formes were not corrected concurrently—a practice that was doubtless unusual in any case.

I think, however, that this sheet rather strengthens the other evidence cited by Greg (*The Library*, 1926, p. 216 f.) and McKerrow (*Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 18, note 2) that the inner forme was often printed before the outer; for if the inner forme had been blank when the corrector marked the outer one, it seems unlikely that the printer would have bothered to perfect so badly inked a sheet. That the binder should have introduced it, as he did, into an otherwise perfect copy of the play is most easily comprehensible on the assumption that the cleanly printed inner forme happened to be lying upward before folding; and its inclusion was doubtless facilitated by the circumstance that, of the four corrected pages, B 1 *recto*, which would be outermost in the folded sheet, happens to be much the least marked.

Reference to the very few other known examples of Elizabethan or early seventeenth-century proof sheets will be found in Dr. McKerrow's book, p. 218 f. and in Mr. Percy Simpson's article in the *Proceedings of the Oxford Bibliographical Society* for 1928, p. 5-14.

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

SOME SOURCES OF RICHARD EDWARDS'S *DAMON AND PITHIAS*

To secure a plot which would represent dramatically the nature of true friendship and contrast it with the false friendship of court sycophants, Richard Edwards in his *Damon and Pithias* used elements from various classical sources, combining and embroidering them according to the dictates of his own originality.

It has been shown by Professor Leicester Bradner that Edwards took the Damon and Pithias narrative from Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour*, Book II, chapter xi.¹ Professor Laurens J. Mills has traced Edwards's doctrine of friendship to classical sources, particularly Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.² There are also other sources for the play which have not before been demonstrated.

The theme of the sub-plot, the ways of false friendship as revealed by the story of the court parasites Aristippus and Carisophus, is not supplied by the tale of Damon and Pithias. The general conception of the court teeming with intrigue, espionage, and false friendship seems to come from Plutarch's *Life of Dion*, which gives an account of the reign of Dionysius of Syracuse. Only one specific detail in *Damon and Pithias* can, however, be definitely traced to Plutarch. In the play Stephano, a servant, says:

As I this morning pass'd in the street,
With a woful man (going to his death) did I meet.
Many people followed; and I of one secretly
Asked the cause why he was condemned to die.
[Who] whispered in mine ear: "Nought hath he done but thus:
In his sleep he dreamed he had killed Dionysius;
Which dream told abroad, was brought to the king in post;
By whom, condemned for suspicion, his life he hath lost."
Marcia was his name, as the people said. (ll. 289-296)

In Plutarch the incident is related as follows:

He slew Marsyas, one of his captains whom he had preferred to a considerable command, for dreaming that he killed him: without some pre-

¹ Leicester Bradner, *Life and Poems of Richard Edwards*, p. 60.

² Laurens J. Mills, *Some Aspects of Richard Edwards' Damon and Pithias*, Indiana University Studies, No. 75.

vious waking thought and purpose of the kind, he could not, he supposed, have had that fancy in his sleep.³

The chief liberty exercised by Edwards in handling this story was to transfer it from the elder to the younger Dionysius.

Although Edwards invented virtually all the details in the subplot, he evidently took the general conception of the gay philosopher at Dionysius's court from Diogenes Laertius. A definite case of borrowing from the *Lives of the Philosophers* appears in the following speech by Aristippus:

I can talk of philosophy as well as the best
But the strait kind of life I leave to the rest.
And I profess now the courtly philosophy;
To crouch, to speak fair, myself I apply,
To feed the king's humour with pleasant devices;
For which I am called *Regius canis*.
But wot ye who named me first the king's dog?
It was the rogue Diogenes, that vile grunting hog. (ll. 17-24)

The source of these lines is evidently the following paragraph in Diogenes Laertius's "Life of Aristippus":

He was capable of adapting himself to place, time and person, and of playing his part appropriately under whatever circumstances. Hence he found more favour than anybody else with Dionysius, because he could always turn the situation to good account. He derived pleasure from what was present, and did not toil to procure the enjoyment of something not present. Hence Diogenes called him the king's poodle.⁴

In Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour*, Damon and Pythias are called Pythagoreans. Edwards responded to this suggestion by introducing into their dialogue a bit of Pythagorean doctrine which he had learned in the *Lives of the Philosophers*. Damon says:

Pythagoras said that this world was like a stage,
Whereon many play their parts; the lookers-on, the sage
Philosophers are, saith he, whose part is to learn
The manners of all nations, and the good from the bad discern.

(ll. 348-350)

³ *Plutarch's Lives*, Dryden's translation revised by Clough, III, 337 (Everyman's Library ed.).

⁴ Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, I, 195 (Loeb Classical Library). Diogenes Laertius was known in Latin versions in the sixteenth century. *Id.*, pp. x and xxxii-xxxiii.

These lines are evidently based on a passage in Diogenes Laertius's "Life of Pythagoras":

He compared life to the Great Games, where some went to compete for the prize and others went with wares to sell, but the best as spectators; for similarly in life, some grow up with servile natures, greedy for fame and gain, but the philosopher seeks for truth.⁵

CLAUDE M. NEWLIN

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THE DATE OF THE SECOND EDITION OF *THE CONSTANT COUPLE*

In his excellent edition of Farquhar, Mr. Charles Stonehill prints the last act of *The Constant Couple* from the third edition, "as the first scene of that act was much altered by the author."¹ From this statement one would infer that Farquhar revised the last act for the third edition (1701). As a matter of fact, the revision was made for the second edition (1700). The following advertisement of this edition in *The Post Man, and the Historical Account*, January 30 to February 1, 1700, fixes the date more exactly than has hitherto been possible: "The Constant Couple, or a trip to the Jubilee. A Comedy acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, By his Majesty's Servants, The Second Edition. With a New Scene added to the part of Wildiar [*sic*]. By Mr. George Farquhar. Printed for Ralph Smith at the Bible under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange, Cornhill, and Rennet Bambury at the Blue Anchor in the New Exchange in the Strand."²

The Constant Couple was produced probably late in November, 1699.³ Publication of the first edition was announced in *The Post Man* of December 7-9, 1699; and this advertisement was repeated in *The Post Man* of December 12, and 14, 1699. The advertisement of the second edition, reproduced above, shows that the play with the last act revised was on the stage in January, less

⁵ *Id.*, II, 327-329.

¹ *The Complete Works of George Farquhar*, Nonesuch Press, 1930, I, vii; in the Mermaid Series, *George Farquhar*, pp. 31-138, William Archer printed the second edition.

² The second edition is not listed in *The Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber.

³ Stonehill, *op. cit.*, I, xxxv, 81; and Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

than two months after the original production. It is probable that this new scene, greatly improving the last act, contributed to the almost unprecedented success of the play, which was acted fifty-three times in London, and twenty-three times in Dublin, in the first season. Certainly the second edition furnishes the authentic text for Farquhar's revision.

G. W. WHITING

The Rice Institute

CHAUCER'S 'BRUTUS CASSIUS'

In his note on line 3887 of the *Monkes Tale* of Julius Caesar, Skeat points to several other instances of the making of Brutus and Cassius into one person.¹ But these instances, though interesting, are all later than, ultimately perhaps dependant on, the Chaucerian passage, and so they throw no light upon the source of Chaucer's error.² More recently it has been pointed out that the same mistake occurs earlier in the Alfredian translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius.³ In that work, as a paraphrased rendering of the Latin lines of book ii, metre vii,

Vbi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent,
Quid Brutus . . . ?

we read:

Hwær synt nu þæs Welondes ban . . . ? Oððe hwær is nu se foremæra] se aræda Romwara heretoga, se wæs haten Brutus, oðre naman Cassius? *

¹ *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, v, 245.

² *Ibid.*, note on l. 3892. All the quotations are taken from Robert Nares, *A Glossary, or Collection etc.* (London, 1822), p. 48, under "Bodkin." The earliest of them seems to be that from the *Serpent of Division*, a prose work prefixed to the 1590 edition of *Gorboduc* and attributed in the Speght edition of Chaucer to John Lydgate. Cf. *Gorboduc*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, *Englische Sprach- Und Literaturdenkmale des 16. 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heilbronn, 1883), pp. xx-xxii.

From the fact that Chaucer could not have derived the error from Dante, Eleanor Prescott Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), p. 251, suggests its importance for the dating of the entire *Monkes Tale*.

³ Cf., for example, Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

⁴ *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. Walter John Sedgfield (Oxford, 1899), p. 46. As a matter of

That the making of two Romans into one is, indeed, no mere slip either of Alfred's⁵ or of Chaucer's, but rests upon a tradition that had already made its appearance even before King Alfred undertook his translation, seems to be evidenced by the fact that the error occurs elsewhere as early as the ninth century. In an anonymous commentary of that century on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil, at present among the Latin manuscripts of the *École de Médecine* de Montpellier, is to be found this enlightening bit of Roman history:

Tempore illo, gubernante Julio Cesare imperium, regnavit Brutus Casius super XII plebes Tuscorum et exortum est bellum inter Julium Caesarem et Brutum Casium cum quo Virgilius erat, superaturque Brutus a Julio. Post hoc Julius occiditur a senatu scabellis subpedaneis.⁶

It is, no doubt, to the accidental omission by some even earlier scribe of an important sign for "et" that we owe the appearance in

fact, the Alfredian translation contains a *double* error, for Boethius is here referring, not to Caesar's slayer, but to Lucius Junius Brutus, who opposed the Tarquins in the earlier days of the republic. Cf., for example, the edition of the *De Consolatione* by Adrian Fortescue (London, 1925), p. 56, note on l. 16.

* Many of the alterations and additions in the Alfredian Boethius, Georg Schepss, "Zu König Alfreds 'Boethius'," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, xciv (1895), 2 and 3, pp. 149-160, shows to have been derived from a group of Latin commentaries and scholia of the tenth and eleventh centuries. But since these commentaries apparently do not make the Brutus Cassius error, and since, in any case, Alfred is not here following them closely (cf. Schepss, *op. cit.*, p. 154), Sedgefield, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv, makes the following remark, which seems to assume Alfred's own guilt for the mistake: "The identification of Brutus with Cassius (p. 46, l. 22) seems to show carelessness or ignorance on Alfred's part, but at the same time he avoids some blunders which we find in the commentaries.

* *École de Médecine de Montpellier*, ms. 358, f. 27r, "Commentarius in Bucolica et Georgica Virgilii." Cf. *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (Paris, 1849), I, 428 f.; G. Libri, "Notice des manuscrits de quelques bibliothèques des départements," *Journal des Savants* (Paris, January, 1842), p. 43; and Friedrich Haase, *De medii aevi studiis philologicis disputatio* (Vratislaviae, 1856), p. 7. It was published by Anatole Boucherie, *Fragment d'un commentaire sur Virgile, Société pour l'étude des langues romanes* (Montpellier, 1875). That the commentary is itself even older than the manuscript, is proved by the nature of several errors in the text which show the manuscript not to be an autograph, but at the least a first copy. Cf. Boucherie, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

history, already five hundred years before Chaucer's day, of Brutus Cassius, the opponent of Caesar, as distinguished from that older Lucius Junius Brutus who drove the tyrant Tarquin from Rome.

H. THEODORE SILVERSTEIN

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A NOTE ON THE NONNE PREESTES TALE

The reference in Chaucer's *Nonne Preestes Tale*, line 4174, to "Oon of the grettteste auctours that men rede," and the succeeding two dream anecdotes have caused many conjectures. Tyrwhitt¹ identifies the *auctour* with Cicero,² but the two anecdotes are in the wrong order and appear "with so many other differences that one might be led to suspect that he was here quoted at second hand." Warton³ believes that Chaucer's source is rather Valerius Maximus,⁴ though the anecdotes are "also related by Cicero, a less known and a less favorite author." Skeat⁵ seems to incline to Cicero. Miss Petersen⁶ suggests Holkot.⁷ French,⁸ after careful weighing of the problem, concludes, "It is hardly likely that he (Chaucer) would apply the term 'one of the greatest authors that men read' either to Holkot or to Valerius Maximus whom Holkot cites as his authority for the stories," and he favors Cicero. Manly⁹ states that "Chaucer's versions differ from all three and he may have had some other source."

Thus, so far, Chauntecleer's very explicit statement that his second story occurs "right in the nexte chapitre" and a few differences in two dream anecdotes made the scholars hesitate to name Cicero or Valerius Maximus or Holkot definitely as Chaucer's

¹ Tyrwhitt, Thomas, *The Poetical Works of Geoff. Chaucer*, 1782, v. 5, p. 14.

² *De Divinatione*, I, 27.

³ Warton, Thomas, *History of English Poetry*, 1840, v. 2, p. 187.

⁴ *Facta et dicta*, I, 7.

⁵ Skeat, W. W., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1894, v. 5, p. 253.

⁶ Petersen, K. O., *On the Source of the Nonne Preestes Tale* (Radcliffe College Monographs, no. 10), 1898, p. 106-110.

⁷ *Super sap.*, Lectio 103.

⁸ French, R. D., *A Chaucer Handbook*, 1927, p. 262-63.

⁹ Manly, J. M., *Canterbury Tales*, 1928, p. 640.

source. Recently in the *Expugnatio Hebernica* of Giraldus Cambrensis,¹⁰ I came across the following passage:

Refert Valerius Maximus quod cum duo Archades iter facientes, alter se ad hospitem sospitem contulerit, alter in tabernam meritoriam diverterit, is qui in hospitio erat videt per somnium comitem suum orantem, ut sibi a caupone oppresso subveniret. Excitatus somnum repetit. Socius ejus sauciatus iterum ei apparuit, quoniam auxilium ei ferre noluerat, vel mortuum rogans vindicare. Dicebat corpus suum tunc a caupone ferri in plastro ad portam, sterquilinio cooperiendum. Quod evigilans ita invenit, et cauponem ad capitale supplicium deduxit.

Arcerius Rufus vidit se manu retiarii confodi; quod in crastinum contigit. Simonides poeta, cum in litore quodam corpus humanum inhumatum jacens sepelisset, eadem nocte admonitus ab ipso ne proximo die navigaret, in terra remansit. Qui vero navigare cœperunt, in conspectu ejus fluctibus et procellis obruti sunt.

Though a single sentence on Arcerius Rufus intervenes, here for the first time the two stories are in correct order. A detailed comparison¹¹ proves that Giraldus comes closest to Chaucer's version. And yet Miss Petersen's careful study establishing the parallels between Holkot and Chaucer cannot be ignored. Both in Holkot and Giraldus the stories are quoted from Valerius Maximus. It is more likely that Chaucer knew both, and, in the case of two dream anecdotes, was thinking in terms of Giraldus rather than of Holkot. As to whether he knew Cicero's or Valerius Maximus' version or not, this does not concern us deeply.

In regard to the question whether Giraldus was great enough to be called by Chaucer "one of the greatest authors that men read," it may be pointed out that the *Expugnatio Hebernica* was a very popular book, and there are numerous manuscripts of it still extant.¹² In the latter part of the 14th century it was translated, and John Hooker who translated it in 1586 writes in his preface: "... all of them (historians) were beholding unto Giraldus and not one of them yield that curtesie either to publish his historie or using the same to acknowledge it."¹³

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¹⁰ *Opera*, J. F. Dimock, 1867, v. 5, p. 294-295.

¹¹ A neatly arranged comparison of Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and Holkot by Miss Petersen is very useful. See note 6.

¹² See Dimock's Preface in *Opera*.

¹³ Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1808, v. 6, p. 109.

OMISSIONS FROM *SWIFT EN FRANCE*

Miss Sybil Goulding's *Swift en France* omits the reference to the *Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* which is found in the Preface to the translation of the second volume of the La Haye edition of Swift (1721). The passage in part is as follows:

De faux dévots et d'autres gens peu judicieux ont regardé cette pièce comme un chef d'œuvre de profanation, quoique l'auteur ait pris tous les soins imaginables pour qu'il serait impossible de s'écarter de son véritable but. Le véritable et unique sujet de son discours est cette Espèce d'Enthousiasme où l'on parvient simplement par art et par une opération mécanique, par laquelle en étourdissant les sens et en étouffant la raison on réussit à remplir le cerveau de visions et de chimères; par conséquent, rien au monde n'est plus mal fondé que le prétendu libertinage, qu'on trouve dans une pièce qui ne tend qu'à débarrasser la religion du fanatisme le plus honteux aussi bien que le plus ordinaire.

The quoting of this estimate of one of Swift's often-neglected masterpieces would have appreciably strengthened Miss Goulding's review of the understanding of Swift which was revealed in the 1721 La Haye translation of the *Tale of a Tub* and other works.

Miss Goulding also misses the significant Tome 9, 1717, of the *Journal Littéraire*. In this volume is found a review of a Dissertation Sur la Poesie Angloise which has some interesting comments on English satirical humor, on the "Count of Rochester," and on Dryden. However, her most important omission is that of Tabaraud's *Histoire Critique du Philosophisme Anglais depuis son origine jusqu'à son introduction en France, inclusivement* (1806) which gives (ii, 304) a rather general estimate of Swift, the inevitable "On l'a appelé le Rabelais des Anglois," and some comment on the *Tale of a Tub*:

Son Conte du Tonneau est une débauche d'esprit où les deux grandes sectes du protestantisme ne sont guère plus épargnées que le catholicisme.

Of Swift's religion Tabaraud says:

Il est certain que sur ce dernier article [religion] Swift avait une manière de penser qui n'aurait été nullement du goût des philosophes françois—il pensait comme tous les publicistes Anglois qu'on n'en devoit point laisser introduire de nouvelle, ni souffrir que celles qui étoient tolérées s'étendissent au détriment de la religion nationale.

These omissions are, perhaps, relatively unimportant, but they are surely part of the history of Swift's reception by French critics and of the French understanding of English satire.

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WHY MILTON USES "CAMBUSCAN" AND "CAMBALL"

In his reference to Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* in *Il Penseroso*, Milton uses the name, Cambuscan, accented on the second syllable, for Chaucer's king instead of the name, Cambynskan or Cambyuskan, accented on the first and last syllables, as it appears in the seven manuscripts we now have of the tale. At the same time, he uses the abbreviated name, Camball, for one of the king's sons instead of the full name, Camballo, Camballus, or Samballo, as it appears in these manuscripts.

The name, Cambuscan, as it is accented, and the name, Camball, Milton probably derived from John Lane. Though Lane uses Cambuscan with the accent on the first and last syllables in the fragment which he purports to quote from Chaucer's tale,

this noble kinge was called Cambuscan (i, 4),

he uses it with the accent on the second syllable consistently in his own tale which is a continuation of Chaucer's, for example,

Cambuscan, glade his worcke was well begonn (iii, 333).

In his own tale, he uses Camball more often than he does Camballo,

and all that Camballs courage makes not good (iii. 161).

That Milton should be influenced by him is not strange, since Lane and Milton's father we know were very good friends, and, during their lifetime, had read each other's works.¹ However, Lane himself, since Chaucer does not abbreviate the names of any

¹ See Forewords, *John Lane's Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, C. S. E. S., nos. 23, 26 (1888, 1890).

of his characters, probably derived the name, Camball, from Spenser. Spenser, in his version of the *Squire's Tale* in the *Faerie Queene*, uses it more often than he does Cambello (Camballo),

But Cambell (Camball) still more strong and greater grew
(IV, iii, 29, 1).

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VILLON'S *LAIS* AND HIS JOURNEY TO ANGERS

When did Villon write the *Lais*? When and why did he go to Angers? His own testimony seems explicit:

L'an quatre cens cinquante six . . . (*Lais*, line 1)
Sur le Noel, morte saison . . . (10)
Ce soir, seulet, estant en bonne,
Dictant ces laiz et descriptvant,
J'oïs la cloche de Serbonne,
Qui tousjours a neuf heures sonne . . . (274-7)
Je cuidé finer mon propos;
Mais mon ancre trouvé gelé
Et mon cierge trouvé soufflé . . .
Si m'endormis, tout enmoufflé . . . (307-11).

In other words, at Christmas time, 1456, Villon all alone in his room wrote out his mock bequests. He heard the Angelus at nine o'clock, and then, finding his ink frozen and his candle spent, he went to sleep.

Villon is no less explicit about his intention of going to Angers and about his reason for this journey: he wishes to break away from the bonds of love, his lady has cruelly deceived him and now ordains his death;

Pour obvier a ces dangiers
Mon mieulx est, ce croy, de fouïr.
Adieu! Je m'en vois a Angers. (41-3)

There is a certain difficulty involved in accepting these statements that critics have frequently pointed out. We happen to know from a legal document detailing the examination of Maître Guy Tabarie¹ that one evening at Christmas time, 1456, Villon

¹ Printed in Longnon's *Etude biographique sur François Villon*, p. 160 ff.

and his companions supped at the Mule tavern and by ten o'clock were all engaged in robbing the Collège de Navarre. "Sur le Noel," says Villon in the *Lais*, "circa festum Nativitatis Domini," says the examination of Tabarie. Now it is of course unnecessary from these two phrases to assume that the poem and the robbery were undertaken on the same night, in fact two such feats in one night—the *Lais* comprise 320 lines and the robbery, without the dinner, consumed over two hours—would seem remarkable for even so deft a poet and accomplished a thief as François Villon. However that may be, the coincidence is striking and those authorities who consider the matter at all have assumed that the night was the same and have discussed only whether the *Lais* were written immediately before the robbery or after it. Gaston Paris, Thuasne and Wyndham Lewis believe that the decision to go to Angers had been reached and the *Lais* written when Villon was visited by his evil companions, changed his plans and went off with them to the Mule and later to the Collège de Navarre.² M. Lucien Foulet, however, is prudently uncertain about the order of events: "qu'il ait composé ses *Lais* tout à loisir, avant de rejoindre à la Mule Colin de Cayeux, d'amp Nicolas et Petit Jehan, ou qu'il les ait rimés à la hâte le lendemain de ce beau coup, le dessein de Villon paraît assez clair: au moment de disparaître brusquement de Paris, il justifiait de façon très naturelle une retraite conseillée avant tout par la peur du Châtelet, et se préparait, le cas échéant, un ingénieux alibi."³

This brings us to the second difficulty, the reason for Villon's trip to Angers. His own statements about the cruelty of his lady and his desire to escape from the bonds of love have not been taken very seriously by most critics.⁴ Villon's phrases recall the conventional expressions of the school of Alain Chartier, they are

² G. Paris, *François Villon* (Paris, 1901), p. 54-6; L. Thuasne, *François Villon* (Paris, 1923), I, 42-3; D. B. Wyndham Lewis, *François Villon* (New York, 1928), p. 133 f.

³ In Bédier-Hazard, *Littérature française*, I, 110.

⁴ P. Champion (*François Villon*, II, 1913, 62-3) and L. Foulet (*Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, Paris and New York, 1927, p. 370-4) credit this love-affair with being a factor in Villon's journey, but not its only cause. G. Charlier (*Archivum romanicum*, IV, 1920, 506-17) believes in the sincerity of Villon's passion for this woman, but does not discuss its bearing on the journey to Angers.

half mocking, half banal, and the unhappy love-affair may be dismissed as, at most, a contributory reason for the journey. Foulet's suggestion that the trip was undertaken from fear of the Châtelet and that the poet was preparing an alibi in case one were needed is tempting but seems less convincing after one has considered certain other factors in the situation. In the first place, although the robbery of the Collège de Navarre took place at Christmas time, 1456, it was not discovered until the following March, and no indication of those responsible for it came to light until May. Presumably, therefore, the thieves were not in much peril before March and under no definite suspicion until after Tabarie had blabbed to Marchant in May. In fact it is clear from the examination of Tabarie that several of Villon's companions in the affair—Tabarie, Petit Jehan and probably Colin de Cayeux⁵—had so little fear of the Châtelet that not only had they remained in Paris all this time, but had been planning various further enterprises such as the plunder of Robert de la Porte and of an "ancien religieux." Secondly, even if Villon were afraid of the consequences of his act, it seems improbable that the authorities of the Châtelet would have given any credence to a poetic alibi such as his. And finally, it seems still more improbable that, if Villon left Paris in fear of arrest, he would take pains to indicate in writing the very place where he intended to hide.

For these reasons also, Thuasne's hypothesis (*op. cit.*, I, 44) that prudence dictated Villon's flight immediately after the robbery and P. Champion's statement (*François Villon*, II, 51) that Villon left Paris in the last days of 1456, arriving in Angers in January, appear to me equally open to doubt. More plausible is the opinion of Gaston Paris (which is also that of Wyndham Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 148) that "Villon, nanti d'une bonne part du butin, retarda son départ pour Angers et fit pendant quelque temps bombance avec les beaux écus d'or de la Faculté de théologie" (*op. cit.*, p. 56).

⁵ I assume that the "petit homme" who "ce faisoit appeler maistre Jehan" and who was "habile à faire crochetz" (Longnon, *op. cit.*, 168-9) was the same Petit Jehan who was involved in the Collège de Navarre affair and described as a *fortius operator crocheturum* than that *fortis operator*, Colin de Cayeux (*op. cit.*, 163). If, as seems probable, the robbery of the Augustinian monk, Guillaume Coiffier, took place after the theft at the Collège de Navarre, then it is evident that Colin de Cayeux was also in Paris at this time (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 172 with p. 168).

In any case, it is evident that other members of his company remained in Paris and were busily plotting new attacks upon the coffers of wealthy ecclesiastics.

But it is also evident that by the end of April, 1457, Villon was undoubtedly in Angers. According to Tabarie's circumstantial statement to Marchant, Villon was at this time visiting his uncle in an abbey in Angers and had gone there to investigate the possibility of plundering an old monk who lived in the same place and who was reported to possess five or six hundred crowns. Again according to Tabarie, as soon as Villon returned to Paris and in the case that his report was favorable, all the companions intended journeying to Angers to rob this old monk. Here then is a well documented and entirely plausible motive for Villon's trip to Angers. Gaston Paris thinks that this motive was not in Villon's mind when he wrote the *Lais*⁶ but that his original intention was merely to visit his uncle, perhaps hoping to obtain money from him, perhaps hoping, as he says, to break away from the woman he loved too much. Thuaune also believes that Villon had no evil designs when he composed the poem but that, after the robbery, when he judged it prudent to carry out his intention of going to Angers, he came to an understanding with his companions about reconnoitering while there the advisability of robbing the rich old monk (*op. cit.*, I, 44).

Now it seems to me that there is no need of assuming more than one motive for the visit to Angers, and that the one alleged by Tabarie is both credible and sufficient. Villon, early in the spring, when only "ung peu de billon" (*Lais* 319) remained from the proceeds of the robbery—or robberies—decided to look up this new and promising venture at Angers. He, like his companions, was as yet in no fear of discovery in connection with any old affairs, in fact Tabarie expected him back in Paris to make his report: *lui retourné, selon ce qu'il rapporteroit par de ça aux autres compaignons, ilz yroient tous par delà . . .*⁷ I assume therefore

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 56. Paris asks "aurait-il sans cela proclamé qu'il partait précisément pour Angers?" Why not? No suspicion would fall upon Villon at this time in reference to any future affair at Angers. We know from Tabarie's statement that the preliminary visit was to be merely exploratory and that Villon intended to return to Paris to make his report before the actual robbery took place.

⁷ Longnon, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

that Villon left Paris some time before Easter 1457⁸ and that, before going, he wrote the *Lais*, not, as he pretended, "sur le Noel", and not, as he further pretended, because of an unhappy love-affair. He wrote them for his companions, taking special care of course not to mention a single one of those associated with him in either the Collège de Navarre robbery or the projected venture in Angers.⁹ These men, however, would be the very ones who would most appreciate the apocryphal details in the poem: the description of the terrible cold of a night near Christmas when, according to the *Lais*, one stays at home close to the fire, but when, as Villon's friends well remembered, he and they were climbing over the wall into the Collège de Navarre; the reference to the clock of the Sorbonne striking nine—a sound that they probably heard while supping at the Mule; the picture of the lonely poet saying his little prayer and going innocently to sleep all muffled up in his room, at a time when, as they knew, the whole crew of them were forcing locks and dividing booty.

This hypothesis concerning the date of the *Lais* and the reason for the trip to Angers is, to be sure, only a hypothesis, but it seems to me to obviate several difficulties involved in the other suggestions that have been hazarded, without encountering any serious new ones. It does not strain credence by obliging us to assume that the poem and the theft were accomplished in one night, but establishes a reason for the striking coincidence between "sur le Noel" and "circa festum Nativitatis Domini." It questions the wintry *mise en scène* of the *Lais*,¹⁰ but attempts to explain why such a fictitious

⁸ Villon's date, 1456, is of course accurate since in his day the year 1456 did not end until Easter.

⁹ So many of his other friends appear in the *Lais* that the omission of this particular group seems intentional, the more so in view of the fact that two members of it, Colin de Cayeux and Guy Tabarie, are mentioned in the *Testament*.

¹⁰ This, of course, may seem to some a serious step to take. And yet no one has hesitated to take the similar step of questioning the reason that Villon advances for his journey to Angers. Nor would anyone accept at face value Villon's statement that he stopped writing when he did because of frozen ink, a spent candle and lack of fire. If it be objected that there are reality and vividness in the description of the bitter cold of winter (lines 10-3, 398-12), one can only reply that Villon had good reason to know what cold nights were like and probably needed very little aid from "dame Memoire" in describing them.

dating of the poem would seem especially amusing to some of those for whom it was written. Finally, it posits a single motive for the trip to Angers—the only one that can be shown to have existed—instead of assuming various others, some of which, at least, seem incompatible with the probabilities.

For these reasons I believe that the *Lais* were written after the robbery of the Collège de Navarre, some time before Easter (April 17) 1457, and that Villon then took his departure for Angers with the express purpose of investigating there the feasibility of committing another robbery.

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COLLETET'S EXILE AFTER HIS CONDEMNATION IN 1623

The Arrêt de Parlement, issued July 11, 1623 by order of the Procureur Général Molé against Théophile de Viau, Berthelot, Frenicle, and Guillaume Colletet as principal authors of the *Parnasse Satyrique*, ordered that they be imprisoned in the Conciergerie if taken; otherwise, that their property be confiscated.¹ They relied, however, on the intercession of powerful friends and there is no record of Colletet's imprisonment. This is not surprising, since his father Gabriel Colletet² and his uncle Pierre³ were both procureurs au Châtelet in good standing among their colleagues. François, his godfather, was commissaire et examinateur au Châtelet⁴ and he, himself, was avocat au Parlement.⁵ For generations,

¹ Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le Procès du poète Théophile de Viau*. Paris, Champion, 1909, I, 132.

² *Journal des choses mémorables advenues durant le règne de Henry III*, . . . Edition nouvelle . . . A Cologne, chez les Héritiers de P. Marteau, 1720, I, 149; A. Tuetey, *Inventaire Analytique des Livres de Couleur et Bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale. 1899. § 3635.

³ Archives Nationales. *Insinuations du Châtelet*, Y 140 fo 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Y 122 fo 338 vo.

⁵ He had become a lawyer before Nov. 3, 1618, the date of the death of Rivière, for the four poems and the epitaph in *Le Zodiaque Poétique de M. de Rivière* (Paris, J. Libert, 1619) are signed Guillaume Colletet, Parisien, Advocat au Parlement.

the family had been connected with the Châtelet and the Palais,⁶ so that they must have had sufficient influence in the law courts to protect one of their number in such an emergency. Indeed this is shown in the sentence passed on Aug. 19, 1623, when, although Théophile was condemned to be burned alive with his books and Berthelot to be hanged, Colletet was merely banished from the kingdom and warned to remain away "à peyne d'estre pendu et estranglé."⁷

He retired to Saint-Denis, where he remained a year or so. There, in the fall of 1623, he composed *Scevole ou Chant Pastoral sur le Trespas de Monsieur de Sainte-Marthe*,⁸ and worked on his first long translation, *Les Aventures Amoureuses d'Ismène et d'Isménie*.⁹ His whereabouts is revealed in the dedicatory epistle of *Scevole* but nobody has yet discovered why he was so safe and comfortable at Saint-Denis.

The fact is that among other influential relatives, his father's brother, Jacques Colletet, was a person of importance in the Abbaye de Saint-Denis and his cousin, Severin Colletet, the son of his godfather, François, had been a member of that community since 1616.¹⁰ Jacques Colletet, who had entered the Abbaye in 1574,¹¹ was quint prieur et official de Saint-Denis in 1606¹² and as such was appointed in 1610 with Adam Brisect, soubz prieur; l'abbé de Brignon; Jacques Doublet, quart prieur et cénier; Denis de Chamblain, trésorier; Loys de Berthancourt, réfectoirier et prieur de Saint-Orin, to bring the remains of Henri IV from the Louvre to Saint-Denis for burial in accordance with the late king's wishes.¹³ Later, the Archbishop of Rheims, abbé de Saint-Denis, appointed Jacques Colletet and Jacques Doublet¹⁴ to carry to Rheims for the coronation of Louis XIII "les ornements royaux qui se conser-

⁶ The documentary proof of this statement will appear in my *Life and Works of Guillaume Colletet*.

⁷ Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, II, 143.

⁸ Published at Paris by Henry Sara in February, 1624.

⁹ Published at Paris by Toussaint du Bray in 1625.

¹⁰ *Insinuations du Châtelet*, Y 157 fo 367vo.

¹¹ E. Campardon et A. Tuetey, *Histoire Générale de Paris. Inventaire des Régistres des Insinuations du Châtelet* . . . Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1906. in-4°. 1485.

¹² *Insinuations du Châtelet*, Y 145 fo 240.

¹³ *Régistres du Bureau de la Ville de Paris*, XIV, 522, n. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xv, 38, n. 1.

vaient au trésor de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis." In the early 30's, known as Dom Colletet, he was approached with deference by Guillemain, Prieur de Roumolles en Provence, who was doing little errands in 1632-3 for Peiresc in Paris.¹⁵

One can imagine Guillaume Colletet, under the influence of his uncle and cousin, led into the path of discretion, which he follows consistently from this point on. His poem, *Scevole*, is dedicated to Nicolas Chevalier, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'Etat et Privé, Premier Président de sa Cour des Aydes à Paris et Chancelier de la Roynne, to whom he bitterly complains of the unjust accusations of his enemies, for they have done their utmost to ruin his reputation, about which he has always been sensitive.¹⁶ He consoles himself with the thought that they can never prove him guilty and wisely retires from public view in order not to arouse their antipathy again. Not content with this, the next year he persuaded someone to issue the oft-quoted appeal¹⁷ to the public that follows *l'Arrêt contre Théophile* in the *Recueil de toutes les pièces de Théophile . . . et généralement tout ce qui s'est fait pour et contre luy depuis sa prison jusques à présent*.¹⁸

From now on, despite the publication of *Le Trébuchement de l'Ivrongne* under various titles from 1627 to 1646 and the many similar poems found in the *Divertissements*, 1631,¹⁹ and the *Poé-*

¹⁵ *Lettres de Peiresc* publiées par Ph. Tamizey de Larroque . . . Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1890, v, 58, 91. Among other things, he purchased antique vases or tried to get a description of those he could not buy. He hoped to get a model or plaster cast of one of those in the Abbaye de Saint-Denis, but, after some evasion, Dom Colletet flatly refused him permission to do so on the plea that it might damage such a valuable work of art.

¹⁶ Of course, he had not hesitated to follow Théophile's example in flatly denying the authorship of the poems bearing his name in the satirical collections of 1619, 1620 and 1622.

¹⁷ Cf. Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, I, 348. The urgent need for such a defence is shown when, even the next year, Théophile's and Colletet's are the only names appearing in the 3 wretchedly printed editions of *Le Parnasse Satyrique*. Cf. Lachèvre, *Recueils Collectifs de Poésies Libres et Satyriques*, p. 70.

¹⁸ There were 2 editions of this *Recueil*, the material for which is thought to have been collected by a friend of Colletet. In one of them, "je sçay bien qu'on luy (Colletet) a joué cette trousse" is omitted. Cf. Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

¹⁹ Paris, R. Estienne, 1631; Jacques Dugast, 1633.

sies Diverses, 1656,²⁰ Colletet never fails to take every opportunity to condemn his associates of this period, to protest his interest in serious things, to declare his devotion to the Catholic church, and to point out to the young the advantages of an exemplary life. Such passages appear in many of his prefaces. They run through the *Vies des Poètes*²¹ and reappear in the various treatises of the *Art Poétique*,²² culminating in the *Discours de la Poésie Morale et Sentencieuse*,²³ that detailed review of all poetic works, ancient and modern, of which the purpose is to inspire admiration for the highest moral qualities.

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FRENCH ALLUSIONS TO TASSO

In the course of my investigations, I have run across numerous allusions to Torquato Tasso in France which are not mentioned in any of the books of reference. I have excluded from this article those items that are to be found in these works, and also everything which appears in the unpublished dissertation of C. B. Beall, who has been engaged in a study of Tasso in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ No attempt is accordingly made to give a comprehensive bibliography, but only additional items which may help to make the study of the general subject more complete.

The French unquestionably considered Tasso a poet of the first rank. The author of the *Gerusalemme liberata* is usually mentioned in connection with Homer and Vergil as a poet of equal worth. The number who thus considered him is great. Many writers such as Claude Billard, Scudéry, La Mesnardière, Mambrun, M. de Marolles (l'Abbé Villeloin), Le Clerc, Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, l'Abbé Jean Terrasson, Saint-Didier, de La Barre, Joannet, de La

²⁰ Paris, Louis Chamhoudry, 1656.

²¹ The MS. *Vies des Poètes françois* lost in the fire that destroyed the Bibliothèque du Louvre on May 23, 1871.

²² Paris, Antoine de Sommaville et Louis Chamhoudry, 1658.

²³ One of the treatises of *l'Art Poétique* dated 1657.

¹ Johns Hopkins University dissertation in Romance Languages, 1930.

Beaumelle, A. M. . . , and Dubourg name Homer, Vergil, and Tasso in the same breath.²

La Mesnardière³ blames Tasso for having two heroes, Godefroy and Renaud, in his poem, and in *La Poétique*⁴ he mentions the *Aminta*. M. de Marolles⁵ recognizes the fact that Aristotle, Horace, Tasso, Scaliger, and Vossius are not infallible, and he observes:⁶

Je souhaite que pour y réussir parfaitement, ils n'y meslent point des eaux de l'Hippocrène, ny les lauriers du Parnasse, comme les Italiens, et mesme le Tasse dans sa *Jérusalem délivrée*, qui fait agir Tisophone et Mégère avec les anges Michel et Gabriel, qui parle de Neptune, de Platon, comme de Divinités adorées.

Coras, in the *Satirique Berné*,⁷ quotes the IX^e *Satire* of Boileau in which Tasso is mentioned, and also speaks⁸ of ascertaining the value of Tasso and Vergil. It would seem, says Rapin,⁹ from an observation of the character of these geniuses, that one could liken Ariosto, who has more fire and vivacity, to Homer, and Tasso, who has more prudence and discretion, to Vergil. In the *Avertisse-*

² *L'Eglise triomphante*, Lyon, 1618, préface; Preface to *Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa*, Paris, 1641; *Lettre du Sr. du Rivage, contenant quelques observations sur le Poème Epique et sur le poème de la Pucelle*, Paris, 1656, p. 17; *Dissertatio Peripatetica de Epico Carmine*, Paris, 1662, p. 4; Epistre of the *Traité du Poème Epique*, Paris, 1662; *Avertissement de la traduction de la Jérusalem délivrée*, Paris, 1667; *Lettre à M. l'abbé de la Chambre*, Paris, 1673, p. 12, also *Traité pour juger des Poetes Grecs, Latins, et François*, appended to the third edition of *Clovis*, Paris, 1673, ch. XXXIII, p. 96; *Dissertation critique sur l'Iliade d'Homère*, Paris, 1715, vol. I, p. 275, also 3^e partie, 1^{re} section, art. V, pp. 384 ff.; *Clovis*, Paris, 1725, préface, p. 4; *Première Dissertation sur le Poème Epique* (1731) in *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1736, t. IX, p. 253; *Elemens de Poésie Française*, Paris, 1752, t. I, p. 223; *Commentaire sur la Henriade*, Paris, 1775, t. II, p. 148; *Parallèle du Lutrin et de la Henriade*, Paris, 1775, p. 281, 331; *Le Messie*, Amsterdam, 1777, préface, p. 5.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 11, 38.

⁴ Paris, 1640, *Discours*, also, pp. 278, 366.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, *Epistre*, also, pp. 6, 22, 48, 54, 63, 70, 97, 101, 103.

⁶ Pp. 48.

⁷ Paris, 1668, p. 32.

⁸ Pp. 33.

⁹ *Discours académique sur la comparaison entre Virgile et Homère*, Paris, 1668, pp. 38, 48, 49.

ment of his *Reflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote*,¹⁰ after mentioning Tasso in an historical sketch of heroic poems, he says: "Le dessein le plus accomply de tous les Poëmes modernes est celui du Tasse," although there are faults in the execution. He claims that *l'Armide* is too lax morally, condemns Tasso for trying to please "par des endroits trop éclatans," and states that the poet does not know the secret of style. He has given too much prominence to secondary figures; Godefroy, who is the hero, scarcely does anything. There is too much mingling of the jesting and the serious. He concludes by saying that Tasso and Trissino both wanted to write tragedies after the manner of Sophocles, but failed.

Desmarets¹¹ contends that Greece and Italy have never had such a lofty subject as his poem where the true religion has fought and conquered the false; and one can never call him to justice in the name of Homer, Vergil, or Tasso "pour restitution, ni d'emprunt, ni de larcin." In *La Deffense du Poëme Heroïque*,¹² he criticizes Tasso for having introduced an angel that appears to Godefroy, and because

il feint le Demon qui tient son conseil dans les enfers. La faute qu'il a faite est de luy avoir donné le nom de Pluton, et d'avoir mis dans les enfers les mesmes suplices que Virgile y a mis, qui sont selon les fables. Car cela ne s'accorde pas avec notre Religion, qui admet seulement ce qui peut estre animé par les Demons.

He also takes Tasso to task for the manner in which he has begun his poem. In the *Avis to Clovis*, he says, in speaking of miracles and prodigies, that he has used them much more sparingly than Tasso.

Boileau had no compunctions about acknowledging Tasso as a genius, but he criticizes him for having employed the 'merveilleux chrétien' and for his disdain for verisimilitude.¹³ Etienne Fourmont¹⁴ cites this passage from Boileau, and says:

¹⁰ *Reflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote et sur les ouvrages des Poètes anciens et modernes*, Paris, 1674. Cf. also pp. 61, 91, 125, 133, 138, 141, 148, 164, 200.

¹¹ *Traité pour juger des Poetes*, already cited.

¹² Paris, 1674, p. 87.

¹³ *Art poétique*, III, 205 ff.

¹⁴ *Examen pacifique de la querelle de Mme Dacier et M. de la Motte sur Homère*, Paris, 1716, I, 190 ff.

Godefroy en oraison n'est pas plus ridicule qu'Enée en prière, mettre Sattan à la raison dans la Jérusalem et ramener Junon à la douceur dans l'Eneide sont absolument la même chose, mais quelle est cette tristesse de sujet du Tasse? En un mot Despréaux n'avoit pas assez pezé toutes les ressemblances d'entre le Tasse et les anciens Poètes.

Perrault,¹⁵ in the colloquy between the Président and the abbé, makes the former say:

En un mot vous concluez que le Tasse, que Chapelain, que Desmarets, que le Père le Moine et Scuderi sont de meilleurs Poètes que Virgile et Homere, et que la Jerusalem délivrée, la Pucelle, le Clovis, le St. Louis et l'Alaric valent mieux que l'Iliade et l'Eneïde.

To which l'abbé replies: "Dieu me garde de dire jamais pareille chose."

M. Chevalier Temple¹⁶ states that Ariosto and Tasso undertook to compose heroic poems, but, not having strong enough wings to raise themselves, had to have recourse to the ancients. In *Le Nouveau Mercure*,¹⁷ we read: "Les Grecs ont leur Homère, les Latins leur Virgile, les Italiens leur Tasse et leur Arioste, tandis que les Français n'ont pas un seul Auteur, je ne dis pas à leur opposer, mais même dont on puisse soutenir la lecture." In the same journal of May, 1708,¹⁸ another anonymous writer observes that, although the *Jérusalem* has its beauties, it has too many shortcomings to be taken as a model, and places *Télémaque* above the *Gerusalemme liberata*.

L'Abbé Terrasson¹⁹ declares that Tasso has made the trees of the enchanted forest groan and talk. Saint-Didier²⁰ remarks that these enchantments are no longer suitable to the taste of his century, yet we read in the *Bibliothèque françoise* of l'Abbé Goujet:²¹ "Rien n'est plus beau dans la Jérusalem que l'endroit de la Forêt enchantée, que le Palais d'Armide, etc. Otez du Tasse cette sorte de merveilleux, ce n'est plus un Poète."

¹⁵ *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, 1688, 3 vols., I, 62; III, 147, 150.

¹⁶ *De la poésie*, Utrecht, 1693, p. 304.

¹⁷ Trévoux, fév., 1708, p. 218 (author not named).

¹⁸ Pp. 61, 62, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76.

¹⁹ *Dissertation critique sur l'Iliade d'Homère*, Paris, 1715, p. 241.

²⁰ Preface to *Clovis*, Paris, 1725, p. 11.

²¹ Vol. IV, part II, p. 37. Cf. also, pp. 39, 61, footnote.

Etienne Fourmont²² quotes passages from Tasso to show the lofty Scriptural tone, but later shows that Tasso is not exempt from the fault of mingling Christian and pagan deities.

Il appelle les enfers l'Averne, Pluton, chef des Diables, il parle de Cerbère, de l'Hydre, du Cocyte. Toutes ces idées sont prises du Paganisme. Si l'on répond que les Payens n'auraient jamais eu connaissance de ces dogmes, on peut la supposer dans les démons qu'ils adoraient. On repliquera que le Tasse n'a pas dû traiter les Mahumetans de Payens, ni faire agir pour eux des Dieux dont ils ont horreur comme nous.

In the *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des Beaux-Arts*,²³ we read that the epic poem is such a difficult work that the world has seen only six of first rank, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Æneid*, the *Gerusalemme liberata*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Télémaque*.

In the *Bibliothèque françoise* of l'Abbé Goujet,²⁴ we read: "Il paroît une critique très vive de la traduction du Tasse. Elle est de Mlle Riccoboni, actrice de la Comédie Italienne, connue sous le nom de Flaminia."²⁵ On page 34 of Volume IV:

Si le Tasse avoit dit: Il parut à ce Conseil le Sphinx, la Chimère, Gerion, etc., le Traducteur pourroit avoir quelque sorte de raison, mais il est évidemment dans son tort, puisque ces noms fabuleux sont rapportez par le Tasse au pluriel, pour nous faire entendre que les démons parurent sous des formes monstrueuses, et pour nous donner une idée juste de cette effroyable assemblée. . . . Comme rien n'est plus vif et plus animé que tout ce qui est emprunté de la Fable, c'est une assez bonne ressource pour les Poëmes chrétiens, que de feindre les démons transformez en esprits fabuleux et en Dieux du Paganisme. Le Tasse a mis en usage cette transformation.

Elsewhere one finds:²⁶

Les divinitez du Paganisme passent pour des êtres chimeriques et la magie, source du merveilleux pour l'Arioste et pour le Tasse . . . Il est étonnant qu'on nous donne cette sorte de merveilleux pour une production toute neuve. Le Tasse, dit l'auteur des notes sur la lettre de Mlle Riccoboni à M. l'abbé Conti, a mis en usage cette transformation. M. de Saint-Didier a peut-être cru que les preuves érudites dont il a fortifié ce système lui donneroient un air de nouveauté. Le sujet est l'établis-

²² *Op. cit.*, I, 108, 177, 190 ff. (already cited), 219.

²³ Trévoux, Juillet, 1730, p. 1423; cf. also, pp. 1459, 1466.

²⁴ IV, 188.

²⁵ The letter of Mlle Riccoboni to l'Abbé Conti on the subject of the new translation is found in Part II, IV, 20 ff.

²⁶ VI, 24.

sement de la Religion et de la Monarchie des François. Après la proposition et l'invocation, qui sont suivies de quelques vers traduits du Tasse, M. de Voltaire a mis en oeuvre la même idée dans le 4^e chant de son poème de la Ligue.

And again: ²⁷

La Jérusalem délivrée du Tasse est un Poème si célèbre que M. de Voltaire l'a jugée digne d'un examen détaillé. M. de Voltaire fait une espèce de Parallèle entre la Jérusalem délivrée et l'Iliade. Le sujet du Poète Italien lui paroît plus noble que celui du Poète Grec.²⁸ Cependant le Tasse, qui fait jouer au Diable le rôle d'un misérable charlatan, parle avec majesté de tout ce qui regarde la Religion, et soutient même ce ton en représentant des Litanies, des Processions, etc. Mais ce que M. de Voltaire ne pardonne pas au Poète Italien, c'est d'avoir donné aux mauvais esprits les noms de Pluton et d'Alecton, et d'avoir confondu les idées Payennes avec les idées Chrétiennes.²⁹

In Volume XXIII there is an article on the *Aminta* of Tasso; ³⁰ in Volume XXXIII ³¹ l'Abbé Rossi defends Tasso; and in Volume XXXIX (1744) we read: "Des divers Poèmes du Tasse on ne lit presque plus en François que sa *Jérusalem délivrée* et son *Aminte*."

J. M. de Pons ³² asks:

Quel est-il ce merveilleux? Quel en est le garant, si le poète, loin de paroître inspiré, se livre uniquement aux caprices de son imagination, comme l'ont fait le Tasse et Milton. A cette phrase du Tasse: "O Muse! dont le front est couronné d'étoiles immortelles," et à cette autre: "O Muse! donne à mes chants ta force et ton éclat!" on se sent transporté chez les modernes. Dans quel ordre de choses (chez les Grecs et parmi nous) dans quel système peut-on supposer une Muse couronnée d'étoiles? La fable ni la vérité ne se prêtent point à cette supposition. A l'égard du Tasse, qui n'a pas moins occasionné que Milton les observations que je viens de faire, je n'ai plus qu'une simple remarque à communiquer. C'est Hector qui, dans l'Iliade, est l'obstacle à surmonter de la part des Grecs. C'est un myrte qui, dans la Jérusalem délivrée, est celui des Chrétiens.

²⁷ XII, partie 2, p. 265.

²⁸ He continues talking about Tasso for several pages.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, XII, 269.

³⁰ Paris, 1735, pp. 350-354.

³¹ P. 235.

³² *Définition de genre Epique et Essai sur le plan de l'Iliade*, Paris, an 13 (1805), pp. 7, 137, 139.

De quel côté sera ce qu'on appelle la vraisemblance, la raison, la belle nature? Que peut-on penser de l'intrigue d'un poème où c'est un plus grand exploit d'abattre un myrte que de terrasser le formidable Argant? Il faut selon moi toutes les beautés répandues dans les détails des poèmes du Tasse et de Milton, pour en pardonner le merveilleux, ou puéril, ou gigantesque.

Marmontel, writing sometime before 1755 the article on the *merveilleux* in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*³³ says: "Le Tasse imagine un perroquet chantant des chansons de sa propre composition. Ces traits ne sont pas assez nobles pour l'épopée. . . Le Tasse a eu de même l'inadvertence de donner aux diables qui jouent un grand rôle dans la Jérusalem délivrée les noms de Pluton et d'Alecton." In his *Poétique française*³⁴ Marmontel says: "Le Tasse n'a presque jamais eu recours à l'entremise des esprits célestes; mais il soulève les enfers, et ce merveilleux passionné lui suffit pour opérer tous ses prodiges."

In the *Lettres critiques sur le Paradis perdu de Milton*, Vol. IV of the 1765 edition of the *Paradis perdu*,³⁵ we find: "On est étonné de trouver partout chez lui (Milton) comme chez le Tasse, ce bizarre mélange d'idées également empruntées de la Fable et de l'Écriture." De la Beaumelle³⁶ says that Tasso enlivens the gravity of the subject and enchants the reader to the point of rendering him incapable of perceiving the lack of verisimilitude of his fiction. He says also that a man who has just read Locke and Addison will not relish finding in the *Jerusalem* a Christian sorcerer who draws Renaud from the hands of the Mohammedan sorcerers.

In addition to those authors already cited, there are many who either quote Tasso or mention him, but lack of space forbids doing more than merely naming these. Le Brun, Mambrun, M. D. S., de La Croix, l'Abbé Bouhours, Chapelain, Guez de Balzac, Boileau, Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, Régnier, Segrais, Basnage de Beauval, M. de Valincour, Sorel, Gomberville, D'Aubignac, de La Motte, l'Abbé Terrasson, Etienne Fourmont, Baillet, Saint-Didier, Paul

³³ Vol. x, p. 393 ff.

³⁴ Paris, 1763, 2 vols. II, 324. Cf. also I, pp. 374, 375, 378, 379, 391, 399, 400, 411, 414, 435; II, pp. 233, 234, 248, 249, 253, 257, 262, 263, 271, 281, 290, 291.

³⁵ P. 75. Cf. also pp. 6, 16, 28, 29, 36, 85, 150, 151.

³⁶ *Commentaire sur la Henriade*, Paris, 1775, II, 4.

Rolli, le Père Buffier, Constantin de Magny, l'Abbé Vatry, Ménage, Sarasin, Joannet, M. de Vixouse, l'Abbé Mallet, Mme de Staël, Michel Cubières de Palméseaux, Viollet le Duc, Rigault, all refer to Tasso.³⁷

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³⁷ *Dissertatio de Epico Carmine*, Paris, 1661, pp. 162, 169, 173; *Dissertatio Peripatetica de Epico Carmine*, Paris, 1662, pp. 4, 66, 67 ff., 70, 90, 109, 110, 124, 126, 129, 139, 148, 168, 176, 178, 282; *Le Montparnasse ou de la preference entre la Prose et la Poësie*, Paris, 1663, p. 46; *L'Art de la Poesie françoise et latine*, Lyon, 1694, pp. 169, 586; *La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit*, Paris, 1687-1688, pp. 10-12; *Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, Paris, 1880, in which there are 27 references to Tasso, also *Préface de la Pucelle*, also *Sentiments de l'Académie sur le Cid* (see Searles' edition in U. of Minn. Studies, no. 3, 1916, p. 17); *Entretiens*, pp. 67, 128; *Dissertation critique sur Joconde*, *Œuvres complètes*, II, 2 (Paris, 1872); *Art poétique*, I, 905-912; *Satire IX*; Preface to translation of Vergil, Paris, 1668; *Histoire des ouvrages des savans*, Rotterdam, 1687-1709 (Dec. 1690, Art. III, Life of Tasso); *Lettres à Madame la marquise . . . sur le sujet de la Princesse de Clèves*, Paris, 1678, pp. 115, 256 ff.; in the *Berger Extravagant* in connection with the criticism of romances; *Polexandre*, II, 991; *Conjectures académiques ou Dissertation sur l'Iliade*, Paris, 1715, pp. 158, 159, 228; *Reflexions sur la critique*, Paris, 1715, 2^e partie, II, 55, 60; *Dissertation critique sur l'Iliade d'Homère*, Paris, 1715, p. 243; *Examen pacifique de la querelle de Mme Dacier et M. de la Motte sur Homère*, Paris, 1716, I, 113, 143, 152, 178, 179, 189; *Jugemens des savants*, Paris, 1725, III, 1; *Lettres critiques sur le poëme de Clovis*, Paris, 1725, p. 59; *Examen de l'essai de M. de Voltaire sur la poésie épique*, Paris, 1728, pp. 7, 9, 12, 28, 29, 32, 34, 60, 61, 62 ff., 67, 68, 69, 77 ff., 98; *Traité philosophique et pratique de poésie*, Paris, 1728, p. 294; *Dissertation critique sur le Paradis perdu de Milton*, Paris, 1729, p. 163; *Réponse à la seconde Dissertation par de la Barre. Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres avec les Mémoires de Littérature tirez des Registres de cette Académie*, Paris, 1736, IX, 297, also pp. 228, 232, 233; *Bibliothèque poetique ou nouveau choix des plus belles pieces de vers en tout genre*, Paris, 1745, p. 379, also *Anti-Baillet*, VII, part I; *Bibliothèque poetique ou nouveau choix des plus belles pieces de vers en tout genre*, Paris, 1745, p. 287; *Elemens de Poësie françoise*, Paris, 1752, I, 223, 225, 226, 227; *Louis XIV ou la guerre de 1701*, poëme en xv chants, La Haye, 1778, préface, p. 7; *Principe pour la lecture des poëtes*, Paris, 1745, I, 206, II, pp. 105, 107, 108, 126, 149; *De l'Allemagne*, ch. XXII; *Essai sur l'art poétique*, Paris, 1812, p. 11; *Nouvel art poétique*, pp. 40, 41, also *Précis d'un traité de poétique et de versification*, Paris, 1829, pp. 162, 163, 168; *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, 1856, p. 70.

DEUX LETTRES INÉDITES DE BUFFON

La bibliothèque du Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Paris possède, sous la cote MS. 1985, deux lettres autographes de Buffon que je crois inédites.¹ Je les reproduis ici intégralement d'après les originaux. Elles furent écrites à Jean-Baptiste Guillaumot, architecte de la ville de Paris,² au sujet des carrières qu'on avait trouvées vers 1779 sous le terrain du Jardin du Roi :

I

Je suis très sensible, Monsieur, aux offres que vous avés la bonté de me faire au sujet de la découverte des anciennes fouilles de carrière sous le terrain du Jardin du Roi; je vous serai très obligé si vous voulés bien, Monsieur, m'en faire communiquer le plan et me permettre d'en faire tirer une copie après quoi j'aurai l'honneur de vous porter moi même le plan, enchanté d'avoir cette occasion de vous renouveler tous les sentiments de la véritable estime et du respectueux attachement avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Le Cte. de Buffon

À Paris ce 3 avril 1779 *

Guillaumot fut employé pour diriger dans ces carrières les travaux de consolidation nécessaires.⁴ Mais ses ouvriers n'y firent pas toujours de bonne maçonnerie solide, et Buffon ne fut pas content de leur travail.⁵ Il s'en plaignit à Guillaumot en présence

¹ M. Louis Dimier, dans son excellent livre sur Buffon (Paris, 1919, p. 18), a indiqué, le premier je crois, l'existence au Muséum d'un assez grand nombre de lettres inédites du naturaliste. Je dois leur communication au bibliothécaire du Muséum, M. Léon Bultingaire, qui met à la disposition des chercheurs, avec une grande libéralité et une bonne grâce parfaite, les richesses de sa bibliothèque. J'espère pouvoir lui témoigner toute ma reconnaissance lorsque paraîtra le travail plus étendu que je compte terminer d'ici quelques mois.

² Cf. Nadault de Buffon, *Correspondance générale de Buffon* (publiée comme les volumes XIII et XIV de l'édition des œuvres complètes de Buffon par J.-L. de Lanessan. Paris, 1885, en 14 vol.), t. XIV, p. 297.

³ Pièce 322. D'après la coupure collée sur sa chemise, cette lettre a fait partie d'une vente, mais je n'ai pu savoir laquelle: 17. Buffon (le comte de), célèbre naturaliste. L. sig. à M. Guillaumot, Paris, 3 avril, 1779. 1p. in-4 au sujet des offres qu'il a eu la bonté de lui faire relativement à la découverte des anciennes fouilles de carrières sous le terrain du Jardin du Roi.

⁴ Nadault de Buffon, *op. cit.*, XIV, 68, 297.

⁵ *Ibid.*

du lieutenant général de police, Le Noir,⁶ qui était chargé de l'inspection des carrières parisiennes. Apparemment l'architecte de la ville s'était récrié contre ces observations, car le naturaliste lui adressa la lettre suivante :

II

Je serois très fâché, Monsieur, que ce que j'ai eû l'honneur de vous dire en présence de M. Lenoir vous eût fait de la moindre petite peine. il ne s'agissoit point du tout de vos grands travaux dans les Carrières mais seulement de ce petit ouvrage provisionnel dont vous parlez dans votre lettre et qui n'a pas été faite avec toute la précaution nécessaire; car le vieux bâtiment sous lequel cette réparation a été faite à mon insçu, n'a pas cessé de travailler au point que j'ai été obligé de le faire démolir très promptement et dans le plus mauvais temps de l'hiver. L'ouvrage provisionnel que vos ouvriers avoient fait au dessous est encore subsistant et si vous voulés, Monsieur, me faire l'honneur de venir au jardin du Roi, vous en jugerés par vos yeux; au reste je sens parfaitement que dans des travaux aussi immenses et aussi difficiles à conduire, il est impossible qu'il ne se trouve quelques petits inconvéniens; et en vérité j'ose vous dire, Monsieur, que j'ai été et suis encore l'un des premiers à rendre justice à vos grands talens, à votre zèle, à votre activité et tout cela indépendamment des sentimens d'amitié que je vous ai voué[s]. Je serois donc vraiment mortifié si j'avois pu vous blesser par l'observation que je vous ai faite. Je vous prie d'en être persuadé [et d']être en même temps très assuré de l'attachement sincère et Respectueux avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur.

Le Cte. de Buffon

au Jardin du Roi ce 13 mars 1782 *

Ces lettres, je le sais, n'apportent pas une contribution notable à l'histoire littéraire. Les ouvriers de Jean-Baptiste Guillaumot et leur mauvais ouvrage nous sont assez indifférents. Mais aujourd'hui que l'on met un soin particulier à recueillir jusqu'aux moindres fragments des célébrités littéraires, on lira volontiers ces lignes qui portent, elles aussi, le cachet de leur auteur. Et, en effet, je crois trouver dans ces deux lettres l'expression de cette politesse, de cette urbanité qui était une des qualités essentielles du grand naturaliste.

Je signale aussi l'habile tournure de la seconde lettre. Buffon, mécontent de Guillaumot à cause du mauvais travail de ses ouvriers,

* Jean-Charles-Pierre LeNoir (1732-1807).

⁷ Pièce 323. D'après la coupure collée sur sa chemise, cette lettre a fait partie de la même vente que celle qui précède: 18. Buffon. *Le même L. sig. à M. Guillaumot. Paris, 13 mars 1782. 2p. in-4. au sujet de travaux faits sous le jardin du Roi pour la consolidation des carrières.*

allait bientôt confier à un autre⁸ les fonctions de directeur dans les carrières du Jardin du Roi. Il y avait, cependant, de bonnes raisons pour ne pas offenser l'architecte de la ville. Ne voulant pas prendre dans les fonds particuliers du Jardin tout l'argent nécessaire pour défrayer les travaux de consolidation, Buffon touchait des sommes sur les fonds destinés à la dépense générale des carrières de Paris.⁹ Mais les mémoires, par lesquels il en demandait paiement, étaient visés justement au bureau de Guillaumot, et celui-ci, une fois fâché contre le naturaliste, aurait pu causer des difficultés.¹⁰ L'affaire était délicate. Il fallait du tact, et c'est de là, sans doute, que vient cette lettre où Buffon, sans rétracter ce qu'il a dit devant Le Noir, essaye très habilement de ménager l'amour-propre de l'architecte de la ville.

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CHATEAUBRIAND DÉCORÉ DE LA GRAND'CROIX DE L'ORDRE ROYAL DU SAUVEUR DE GRÈCE

Dès 1811, dans l'*Itinéraire*, Chateaubriand avait appelé l'attention émue de la France et de l'Europe sur la Grèce qui gardait, en son infime misère, avec la beauté de ses souvenirs, la grâce de ses sites, de sa lumière et de ses ruines. Aussitôt que la Guerre d'Indépendance hellénique fut déclarée, en 1821, le poète se dévoua à la liberté du pays avec acharnement. Il fit parti du comité grec, à Paris, pour secourir les malheureux descendants des Spartiates et des Athéniens. Il écrivit une éloquente *Note sur la Grèce* en faveur des insurgés. Il travailla dans le même sens à la Chambre des pairs pour mettre en mouvement le corps politique.¹ Son vœu se réalisa. La Grèce, secourue par la France, l'Angleterre et la Russie, réussit à secouer le joug ottoman. Au 2^e congrès de Londres, en 1830, les puissances protectrices décidèrent qu'un roi

⁸ A Edme Verniquet (1727-1804), qui devint l'architecte du Jardin du Roi à partir de 1781. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 297.

⁹ *Ibid.* et p. 298, 301, 302.

¹⁰ Ce qui arriva, en effet, quelques années plus tard. *Ibid.*

¹ Voir, pour les détails: Emile Malakis, "Chateaubriand's Contribution to French Philhellenism," *MP.*, xxvi, 91-105.

serait donné aux Hellènes. En 1832, au 3^e congrès de Londres, les puissances nommèrent roi de Grèce le prince Othon de Bavière, âgé de dix-huit ans.

Or, Chateaubriand, quoique content des résultats qu'en partie ses efforts avaient accomplis, n'était pas satisfait de la décision des puissances de mettre un roi à la tête du pays. Il nous laisse entendre ceci dans un passage des *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (IV, 323, éd. Biré) rédigé en 1838 : «La Grèce est devenue libre du joug de l'islamisme; mais, au lieu d'une république fédérative, comme je le désirais, une monarchie bavaroise s'est établie à Athènes.» Et, irrité, il se hâte d'ajouter : «Or, comme les rois n'ont pas de mémoire, moi qui avais quelque peu servi la cause des Argiens, je n'ai plus entendu parler d'eux que dans Homère. La Grèce délivrée ne m'a pas dit : 'Je vous remercie.'»

En réalité, le roi Othon n'a point oublié le poète. Onze ans après son avènement, en 1843, il adressait une lettre, dont la teneur est très aimable, au grand philhellène pour le remercier du soin avec lequel il avait concouru à la délivrance du pays, et lui conférait la Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Royal du Sauveur. Autant que nous sachions, Chateaubriand n'a fait aucune allusion à cet honneur dans ses écrits.² Nos recherches indiqueraient que la lettre du roi de Grèce est inédite³. Nous prenons donc plaisir à la publier intégralement pour mettre au point l'étude sur l'activité de Chateaubriand philhellène, et signaler cette attestation d'estime, ignorée jusqu'ici, rendue au grand homme qui l'a bien méritée.

Monsieur le Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Désirant vous donner un témoignage de la satisfaction que J'éprouve des sentimens dont vous avez constamment fait preuve pour la Grèce et du soin avec lequel vous avez concouru dans toutes les occasions à sa délivrance et à son érection en État indépendant, ainsi que de l'estime particulière que J'ai pour les hauts mérites qui vous distinguent, Je vous ai conféré la Grand-Croix de Mon Ordre Royal du Sauveur et vous l'envoie avec autant de plaisir que

² La lettre du prince bavarois ne pourrait être en réponse à la plainte de Chateaubriand puisque les *Mémoires* ne commencèrent à paraître qu'en 1848.

³ Nous avons trouvé cette lettre dans la Salle des Manuscrits à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds français 12454, feuillet 71. Elle est écrite sur papier élégant, au filigrane: J. Waltham Turkey 1838; la bordure est dorée. L'écriture très ornée est celle d'un secrétaire, la signature est celle du roi.

J'ai à vous assurer des sentimens d'affection que je vous porte, et dans lesquels je prie Dieu qu'ils vous ait, Monsieur le Vicomte de Chateaubriand en sa sainte et digne garde.

Athènes ce $\frac{26 \text{ février}}{10 \text{ Mars}}$ 1834 ⁴

Othon

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EMILE MALAKIS

FRÈRES AÎNÉS DU JACQUES VIGNOT DE DUMAS FILS

La critique a vivement félicité Dumas fils d'être parvenu à imposer au public le dénouement de son *Fils naturel*. Dumas lui-même (non sans une juste mesure d'humilité, car la lutte, disait-il, avait duré trente-cinq ans) convenait de son triomphe sur les résistances bourgeoises.¹ Il y allait d'une tradition théâtrale qui dictait que le fils naturel et son père, en se voyant, "se jetteraient dans les bras l'un de l'autre aux applaudissements d'un public en larmes."²

On peut se demander si le public s'est rebellé contre la dureté du dénouement en question, ou s'il a seulement refusé son suffrage à une manière de reconnaissance qui ne tenait point compte du sentiment de l'auditoire. Je serais tenté de croire qu'il en voulut à l'auteur de dédaigner sa collaboration. Car, pour peu qu'il eût meilleure mémoire que l'audacieux dramaturge et les enthousiastes commentateurs, le public était suffisamment renseigné sur la réhabilitation dramatique des fils naturels pour en connaître tous les détours. Or, l'entrevue du fils naturel et de son père possédait aussi bien une autre sorte de tradition . . . celle justement où est tombé Jacques Vignot lorsqu'il a repoussé les avances de M. Sternay.

Le spectacle de fils naturel et de père repentî qui ne s'embrassent pas dès qu'ils savent ce qu'ils sont l'un à l'autre a des précédents jusque dans le XVIII^e siècle. La *Mélanide* de La Chaussée offrait un tableau de reconnaissance auquel on ne peut reprocher aucun

⁴ Nous n'avons pu rien trouver autour de cette date qui indiquerait que la Grèce se préoccupait de remercier les philhellènes. Aux archives nationales de Grèce nous n'avons trouvé aucun accusé de réception.

¹ Cf. J. Lemaître, *Impressions de Théâtre*, IX, 141-142; L. Lacour, *Gaulois et Parisiens*, p. 7.

² Préface de l'*Étrangère*.

excès de hâte. Soupçonnant à bon droit que d'Orvigny est son père, Darviane se présente à lui. D'Orvigny, de son côté, vient d'apprendre que Darviane est son fils. Leur entrevue (v, 2 et 3) n'est cependant pas du genre dont Dumas fils allait débarrasser la scène. On cause. L'un demande à être reconnu, l'autre refuse de se prononcer. Pour arracher à d'Orvigny le mot qu'il ne voulait pas dire, Darviane est allé jusqu'à lui proposer un duel. S'ils ont fini par s'embrasser, c'est qu'entre honnêtes gens on arrive toujours à s'entendre; pour le public, s'il a versé des larmes, il avait été secoué par une longue et pénible discussion.

Une comédie de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle³ contenait une scène de reconnaissance qui manquait d'élan, entendez de cette spontanéité de sentiments réciproques qui fait que l'on s'embrasse et que tout est expliqué. Quand Gercour et Sainfar connurent qu'ils étaient père et fils le vieillard déclara qu'il assurerait le bonheur du jeune homme; celui-ci remercia en flétrissant la conduite des "mortels imprudens" semeurs de bâtards, puis il compta minutieusement les misères des enfants illégitimes, sans omettre la honte des mères abandonnées. Lorsque Sainfar eut tout dit il offrit enfin une parole de conciliation :

Croyez que votre fils ne saurait vous hair.⁴

Qu'après cela il n'y ait pas eu d'embrassade sur la scène ni d'attendrissement dans l'auditoire, je n'oserais dire; le texte de la pièce marque bien toutefois quelle sorte d'approbation l'auteur a sollicitée.

Je note pour mémoire l'entrevue de Figaro et de son père. Sans doute leur vieille inimitié ne se prêtait pas à plus ample effusion; c'est néanmoins une reconnaissance où le public n'a pas pleuré.

Dans le théâtre de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle l'entrevue du fils naturel et de son père est fréquemment une scène de reproches qui se termine de façons diverses. Il est des cas, tel, par exemple, celui d'Arthur Brémont et du comte de Salmar, où l'on ne songe pas à s'embrasser.⁵ Ailleurs on ne s'embrasse qu'après que le père a consenti à régulariser entièrement la situation en épousant la mère abandonnée.⁶ Ailleurs encore le rapprochement

³ *Le Vieux garçon* de P. Dubuisson, 1782.

⁴ v, 3.

⁵ *L'Homme du monde* d'Ancelet et Saintine, 1827.

⁶ *Arthur, ou Seize ans après*, de Dupeuty, Fontan et Davrigny, 1838.

n'a lieu que lorsque le père est parvenu à justifier sa conduite passée.⁷

L'entrevue sans effondrement, l'entrevue logique du fils naturel et de son père a donc eu sur la scène française un développement graduel, et le public de Dumas eût dû se montrer plus aguerri. Au surplus, on ne saurait nier que si la pièce de Dumas n'a pas inauguré une tradition nouvelle, du moins apportait-elle à la tradition établie une combinaison qui lui manquait: l'indifférence narquoise du fils pour un pauvre homme de père et la sollicitude intéressée du père pour un glorieux bâtard.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON MARCEL PROUST

There exist three Proust items which seem to have been overlooked and which should be known to students and lovers of Proust, and collectors of Proustiana. These three items do not occur in the admirable bibliography of Léon Pierre-Quint, to be found in his volume, *Comment travaillait Proust*, Paris, 1928.

The first is an article in the number for August, 1905, of the monthly magazine *Les Arts de la Vie*, entitled "Un Professeur de Beauté", and occupies pages 67 to 79 of that number. One may easily imagine from the title that the *professeur de beauté* is Robert de Montesquiou and, in fact, the article is a review of Montesquiou's book of criticism, *Professionnelles Beautés*. It is written in the deferent tone always used by Proust with regard to Montesquiou, and expresses regrets that Montesquiou is not already a member of the French Academy. There are also numerous references to Ruskin, which can easily be explained since Proust, at this moment, was making his translations of *The Bible of Amiens* and *Sesame and the Lilies*, the preface which he wrote for the latter appearing in *La Renaissance Latine* in June of the same year as "Un Professeur de Beauté".

The second Proust item, which seems to be quite unknown, is a preface which he wrote for a curious publication, *Au Royaume du*

⁷ *L'Orphelin du Parvis Notre-Dame, ou la Jeunesse de d'Alembert*, de A. Guénée, 1838.

Bistouri. This is a brochure of forty-eight pages, 228 x 305 mm., bound in stiff paper covers and printed in Geneva, Edition Henn. No date of publication is given nor *tirage*, although the copies are numbered. The volume consists of thirty caricatures of military hospital life during the late war and the title-page tells us that they were drawn by R. de M. The cover is adorned with drawings of surgical instruments, with a picture of an *infirmier* on the back cover. The preface, written by Proust, does not give much more information than that the Count and Countess de M. were friends of his. The rarity of the volume will perhaps excuse the reproduction of this preface here:

A la Comtesse de M.

Madame,

Je suis désappointé en recevant quelques feuillets du prochain album, de voir, d'une part que vos caricatures ne sont plus en couleur comme celles que vous m'aviez envoyées il y a deux ans; d'autre part, que plusieurs d'entre elles manquent, notamment cet étonnant "Il n'est pas beau, mais c'est quelqu'un", digne pendant de "Il lui sera beaucoup pardonné parce qu'elle a beaucoup soigné" où vous rivalisez avec Abel Faivre tout en restant originale et en différant profondément de lui.

La suppression de la couleur m'a déçu, parce qu'elle a entraîné celle des paysages. Or, bien avant que vous ne connussiez Clément, il était l'un de mes deux ou trois meilleurs amis. Que de soirs nous avons passés ensemble en Savoie, à regarder le Mont-Blanc, devenir, tandis que le soleil se couchait, un fugitif Mont-Rose qu'allait ensevelir la nuit. Puis il fallait regagner le lac de Genève, et monter, avant Thonon, dans un bon petit chemin de fer assez semblable à celui que j'ai dépeint dans un de mes volumes non encore parus, et que vous recevrez l'un après l'autre, si Dieu me prête vie. Un bon petit chemin de fer patient, d'un bon caractère, qui attendait, le temps voulu, les retardataires, et même une fois parti s'arrêtait si on lui faisait signe pour recueillir ceux qui, soufflant comme lui, le rejoignaient à toute vitesse. A toute vitesse, en quoi ils différaient de lui, qui n'usait jamais que d'une sage lenteur. A Thonon, long arrêt, on serrait la main d'un tel qui était venu accompagner ses invités, d'un autre voulant acheter les journaux, de beaucoup que j'ai toujours soupçonnés de n'avoir rien d'autre à faire là que retrouver des gens de connaissance. Une forme de vie mondaine comme une autre que cet arrêt à la gare de Thonon.

Or le château de M., la vieille demeure des ancêtres de votre mari, était fort au-dessus de Thonon mais enchassé dans l'émeraude de ce pays admirable. Vos couleurs me faisaient toujours penser aux couleurs de ce pays là. Il y a bien longtemps de cela; depuis vous avez été une infirmière admirable et pourtant gaie dans l'inlassable dévouement, vous avez extrait un comique tout spécial de ce milieu où vous avez tenu une place héroïque. Un dessin comme le: "Réveillez-vous mon ami c'est l'heure de prendre la potion pour dormir", mérite autant de rester, que vos grosses dames

repenties qui illustrent tout un chapitre de votre "Splendeur et Misère" non pas certes des courtisanes, mais de quelques grandes dames qui ne furent saintes que sur le tard.

Et le château de M. me direz-vous, que devient-il dans tout cela. Je ne l'ai pas perdu de vue. Vous rappelez-vous au début du Capitaine Fracasse, le château lugubre où vit Sigognac. Franchement M. était admirable, mais n'était pas plus gai. Gautier qui comptait faire revenir Sigognac dans le vaste château pour achever dans le noir un livre qui avait commencé dans le noir, fut un peu déconcerté quand ses éditeurs exigèrent une fin gaie, claire, triomphale. A sa fille surtout (Judith Gautier) cela paraissait moins vrai, moins "comme dans la vie". Il s'exécute cependant. Vous êtes venue depuis lui donner raison. En épousant Clément, vous avez amené le bonheur dans la demeure triste, votre charme, votre esprit, un amour partagé, ont forcé de sourire les vieilles pierres.

Veuillez agréer, Madame, tous mes respects.

MARCEL PROUST.

The third of these apparently unknown numbers to be added to Proust's bibliography is a small brochure of twelve pages, 181x243 mm., with the following legend on the cover and title-page: Fête / chez Montesquiou / A Neuilly / (Extraits des Mémoires du duc de Saint-Simon.) / vignette / This is written in the style of the *pastiche* of Saint-Simon to be found in Proust's *Pastiches et Mélanges*. It appeared originally in *Le Figaro* for January 18th, 1904, with the same title, and is signed *Horatio*, the name Proust used for many of his articles in *Le Figaro*. In a letter to la comtesse de Noailles in 1904, he writes as follows:

Je vais tout de suite vous dire la chose effrayante, mais *tombeau*. J'ai dit à Montesquiou que ce n'était pas moi Horatio. Mais qu'est-ce que Montesquiou a fait: il m'a dit que n'ayant pu trouver l'auteur, *il avait fait imprimer une plaquette de cet article!* en y faisant quelques corrections, de simples ponctuations, m'a-t-il dit? Je n'ai rien osé dire, craignant de me trahir si je protestais, mais que dites-vous de ce coup? *Tombeau, tombeau, tombeau.*¹

Although the Countess de Noailles, on being questioned with regard to this allusion, writes: "Je ne sais absolument rien de plus que ce qui est écrit dans mon volume des Lettres de Proust", the *plaquette* which Proust says Montesquiou had printed is evidently the brochure described above: *Fête chez Montesquiou à Neuilly*.

¹ Lettres à la comtesse de Noailles 1901-1919, présentées par la comtesse de Noailles, Paris, 1931, p. 105. *Tombeau* in the above letter and elsewhere in his correspondence means *silence*.

Apart from these three items, there is one omission which should not have occurred in the bibliography of Léon Pierre-Quint. He gives, p. 56, the extract from *Sodom et Gomorrhe*, II, which was printed in *Les Oeuvres Libres* for November 1921, but omits to mention the extract from *La Prisonnière*, which appeared also in *Les Oeuvres Libres* for February 1923.

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REVIEWS

Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe: Politische Dichtung. Verlag von Philipp Reclam Jun. Leipzig, 1931. Bd. iv. *Der österreichische Vormärz (1816-1847).* Bearbeitet von Dr. OTTO ROMMEL. 334 S. Bd. vi. *Dem neuen Reich entgegen (1850-1871).* Bearbeitet von Dr. HELENE ADOLF. 314 S.

The series which appears under the auspices of Professor Robert F. Arnold of Vienna seeks to include in seven volumes the most important and most characteristic political poems from 1756 to 1914.

The fourth volume aims to be a source book of Austrian political verse in three decades preceding the Revolution of 1848. It is edited by Dr. Otto Rommel, a scholar well equipped for the task, the author of a similar collection, published in 1912 under the title *Die politische Lyrik des Vormärz und des Sturmjahres*.

An introductory essay attempts to clarify the various tendencies and the most important problems which an Austrian poet had to face during the Metternich era. The French Revolution of 1830 and the appearance during the following year of Anastasius Grün's *Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten* are correctly interpreted as furnishing the initial stimulus to the flood of political poems that swept over Austria. One misses a reference to the influence of Byronism since the late 1820's.

While Anastasius Grün still believed in the possibility of a peaceful transition from reaction to liberalism, his successors—Nikolaus Lenau, Karl Beck, Alfred Meissner, and Moritz Hartmann—foresaw the violent collapse of the dominant system. Their espousal of extreme radicalism necessitated their voluntary exile from the Danube monarchy and permitted them to drape themselves in the cloak of martyrdom, a pose popularized by Byron and Heine. Their poems rarely deal with specific abuses and are never the expression of a specific reform movement. In the name of

progress, a catchword set in vogue by the followers of Hegel, these poets take up the struggle against the forces of conservatism.

The editor wisely groups their political lyrics in five divisions, each centering about a leading theme, which served as a rallying cry for the Austrian opposition: I. The Struggle against the System; II. The Censorship; III. Josephinism versus Clericalism; IV. The Problem of Nationalities; V. The Social Question. These divisions are followed by a group of poems, mainly by Grillparzer, which voice scepticism of both radical and conservative efforts, and a further group of poems by Sebastian Brunner which champion the cause of the Metternich regime. The final division assembles those lyrics that prophetically warn of an approaching revolutionary avalanche.

Adequate notes explain many allusions which were commonly known to the reader of a century ago but which are unintelligible to the non-specialist of to-day. These notes also bring valuable biographic and bibliographic details.

The sixth volume of the series is edited by Dr. Helene Adolf. It treats the period between the collapse of the March revolt and the unification of Germany under Bismarck, a period characterized by disappointment with the high-sounding phrases of *Vormärz* and finding its best expression in science and industry rather than in literature and art. But even in literature, the lyric was then less important than the novel or the drama. The efflorescence of the Munich School of Geibel and Heyse directed attention to perfection of form rather than to content. Of the political poets of the 1840's some were in exile, chief among them Herwegh and Freiligrath, others were silent, and still others avoided difficulties with authorities by limiting their lyrics to non-controversial subjects. Whatever political poetry survived in this unpoetic age revolved about three dominant themes: democracy, unity, and class-struggle.

The introductory essay deals with these three themes. The selections, however, are arranged chronologically in four groups of approximately five years each, followed by a final group composed of lyrics of the Franco-Prussian War. This arrangement is not entirely satisfactory. The editor attempts to find a *Leitmotif* for each of the groups but is successful only with respect to her first and last groups. The years immediately after the revolution do have a common note of fatigue with all poetic pleas for political and social insurrection. The lyrics of 1870-1871 do stand under the overshadowing influence of the war. The political poems of the intermediate years might however have been better grouped not according to the date of their composition or publication but rather according to the fundamental themes outlined in the introduction: The Lyric of Democracy, The Lyric of German Unity, The Social Lyric.

Although the sixth volume treats a more recent period than does

the fourth, the excellent explanatory notes appended to the selections are no less indispensable. For a generation that did not experience the political incidents that fired the imagination of poets, the elucidation of certain references is absolutely essential and the editor has done so with fine taste and perfect scholarship.

SOL LIPTZIN

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Geschichte des deutschen Schrifttums in Ungarn, von BÉLA V. PUKÁNSZKY. Erster Band, von der ältesten Zeit bis um die Mitte des 18. Jhdts. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931. Pp. xx + 490. (*Deutschtum und Ausland*, 34-36. Heft.)

That even after the amputations effected by the Treaty of Trianon, 500,000 Germans live in contemporary Hungary, is a fact often forgotten; prior to 1918, her German population numbered over two million. This considerable German element whose ancestors have dwelled for over a thousand years on Hungarian soil, though living under conditions very different from those of the Mother Land, has never severed intellectual and moral relations with the country of its descent. Ever since the inception of German letters in Hungary, from the fourteenth century, German-Hungarians have looked to the Fatherland for spiritual and intellectual leadership, and every period in the existence of this modest offspring of German literature mirrors the currents of the infinitely richer and fuller spiritual and intellectual life of Germany.

Owing to peculiar circumstances (colonisation at far between periods in relatively remote sections of the country), the Germans of Hungary were unable to merge into solid and homogeneous masses; accordingly, the literature which they created seldom rose above the level of local interest. The aesthetic value of the whole of this literature is questionable; its historical and sociological value, however, is beyond doubt: it is a store-house of highly interesting and significant data. Indeed, Pukánszky has not called his work a history of German-Hungarian literature but a history of German-Hungarian *Schrifttum*, indicating that the scope of his work goes beyond purely aesthetic interests. In reality, he offers a history of German-Hungarian civilization written with untiring industry and painstaking accuracy, with frequent digressions into German and Hungarian cultural and literary interrelations; thus, his work has grown to be a valuable contribution to comparative literary history which is occasionally of great interest

to the student of general German literature also (*cf. e. g.* the pages devoted to the Hungarian motives in the *Nibelungenlied*). His efforts are the more praiseworthy as they are, besides the author's shorter sketch in Merker-Stammler's *Reallexikon*, the first attempt to construct a synthesis of this much-neglected subject matter.

The astounding amount of buried and forgotten literature which he had to exhume and which at best can be called second-rate, bears throughout the stamp of the Third Estate. Out of a vast conglomerate of didactic and devotional prose and poetry, there had arisen in the fourteenth century the remarkable epic of Oswald, clerk of Königsberg, on Prester John, a few relics of profane lyric, and faint and uncertain traces of folk poetry. It is noteworthy that no monument of the mediaeval drama has come down to us, though liturgic dramas are known to have been performed, and that the *Meistergesang*, in spite of an intensely conservative and exclusive city life, was evidently not cultivated in Hungary. Humanism and Reformation left profound traces in the spiritual formation of the German-Hungarians. Though the new ideas were adopted with fervor and enthusiasm and a great but passing success had been achieved by Hussitism in Hungary in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the position of the Church was not shaken by the critical tendencies of Humanism until a few decades later than in Germany. In the sixteenth century, Humanist literature had an extraordinary vogue; religious controversy was poured out in a torrent of books and pamphlets; the school drama, and under Hans Sachs' influence the popular drama flourished also. The Barocco, in both its Southern and Northern varieties, held sway over German-Hungarian letters for a century and a half. They faithfully reflected the great spiritual conflicts of the period, the struggle between Protestantism and Counter-Reformation. German-Hungarian literature, fundamentally learned and didactic, became a handmaid of religion, whether Catholic or Protestant. The authors were teachers and clergymen who in off moments forgot their professional dignity to make an excursion into profane literature. Besides the curious didactic-erotic stories of Johannes Gorgias, an amazing number of prince-mirrors and emblem literature sprang up like mushrooms, and third-rate occasional poetry as well as the Jesuit and Protestant school-drama had their hey-day. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the secular drama too leaped into existence. The literary output of historians, polyhistor, and philologists, in quality superior to pure literature, was likewise very considerable. The survey closes with a glance at the evolution after 1760 when starting from the Western border of Hungary, from the city of Pressburg, a new and epochal trend began to make itself felt. By this time, Hungarian-German letters had grown conscious of their task to act as intermediary between Hungary and Germany, nay between Hungary and the whole of Western Europe.

A great deal of self-sacrifice was required to open up this new

field, which may be of less interest to Germany than to Hungary, but which offers an important vista on the total panorama of the expansion of the German mind. Pukánszky's work, grounded throughout in original research, abounds in characteristic and significant details. His grasp of the multiple and complex problems is sure, his scholarship mature, and his horizon wide. An 80-page bibliography makes his work, the value of which is further enhanced by an excellent pictorial appendix, indispensable for those seriously interested in the subject.

ARPAD STEINER

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The Azure Flower. Lyrics from the German Romantic Poets translated by JOHN ROTHENSTEINER. St. Louis: Privately printed at the Press of Blackwell Wielandy Co., 1930. Pp. ix + 149.

With an astonishing power of introjection and a complete command of poetic diction the author has succeeded in translating 118 poems of German Romanticists from A. W. Schlegel to F. W. Weber, including the best known lyrics of this period. Preserving the original meter, he has not only kept very close to the sense in rendering line by line, but he has also been able to preserve the melody, an art which reveals itself most happily in such characteristic first lines as

My day was placid, happy was my night (Heine)—
 My dear, we two were children
 Playmates in childhood's May (Heine)—
 Rest on me thine eye of darkness (Lenau)—
 Serenely steps the night on land (Mörike)—
 Afar the clocks are striking (Eichendorff)—

and many others. Discrepancies in the English and German as in

Homeless though on earth I wander (Eichendorff):
 Wandern lieb ich für mein Leben,

where the second line

Yet it is my life to roam

is not strong enough to delete the melancholy impression of the first are rare. The sheer music of Eichendorff often forces the translator to bring in his own interpretation in an otherwise vague and ambiguous passage; thus on page 56 *Wie bist du schön* is, to my mind erroneously, referring to the enchanted wood instead of addressing the maiden, thus leading to a change of sentiment in "my heart grows fond and fonder" from the German text "mein Herz bleib frei und munter". In *O Täler weit, o Höhen* the ex-

pression "andächt'ger Aufenthalt", quintessence of Eichendorff's love of native forests, and later "saust die geschäft'ge Welt" are not adequately contrasted through "unforgotten scene" and "the world is bright and cold".

These flaws are mentioned here in the hope that a second edition, which the book (privately printed!) certainly deserves, might here and there find happier renderings and maintain its own standard of poetic achievement coupled with high accuracy in every line.

ERNST FEISE

Diálogos o Coloquios of Pedro Mejía. Edited with Introduction and Notes by MARGARET L. MULRONEY, 1930. University of Iowa Studies. Spanish Language and Literature, No. 1. Pp. 149.

Pedro Mejía (1499?-1551) has received more attention as a historian than as a representative of a somewhat neglected *genre*, the 'literatura de divulgación'. Yet his *Silva de varia lección* (1540) and his *Diálogos* (1547), both very successful in Spain, form an important link in a chain which connects Isidore of Seville with Feijoo—and a study of Mejía's sources, his influence at home and his extraordinary popularity abroad, in Italy, France, England, Germany, would be an interesting chapter in a broadly conceived history of Spanish culture.

For this, of course, reliable texts are indispensable. Of the *Silva* there seems to be no modern edition; the *Diálogos* were republished in Madrid, in 1928, just how well I do not know, but not with a scholarly purpose. The present edition is based on the text of 1551, the last which the author could have supervised himself, and with it go the variants of the princeps (Seville, 1547) and of 1548. The two other editions published in the author's lifetime are disregarded as immaterial. The editor shows laudable restraint in not interfering with the punctuation and accentuation; solved abbreviations outside of title-page or colophon are not italicized, a procedure perhaps more defensible than the omission of page- and folio-indications. Most orthographical variants are excluded, but many common forms are recorded which might have been safely neglected, or might have been grouped, to better advantage, in an introductory analysis of the author's language. Such are *fecho*, *acaballos*, *respeto*, so etc.

As far as may be judged without an actual comparison with the original, the text appears to have been faithfully reproduced, a very important point; indeed, in this case, the most important. Naturally there are mistakes, too many perhaps, among which, we infer, may be counted:

26-12 f. (no full stop after *Consules*, comma after *cinco*, no capital in *No*) 26-18 *grando* 26-20 *despues muerto* (?) 27-1 *que . . . que* (?) 28-9 *embaybieron* (?) 31-25 *preceden* (?) 32-21 *que da he* 46-2 (a line out of place) 54-4 *a cometar* 54-5 *senor* (?) 85-7 *llamanos* 111-3 *qui en* 116-26 *le escriptura* 121-23 *el algunas partes* 127-22 *philosopohos* 128-5 *en poco mi en mucho* 132-12 *feugo* 132-19 *fugo* 134-29 *terromotos* 146-34 *terromoto* 136-28 *la punto* etc. On p. 55-23 it is difficult to believe that it was Mejía who corrected *por esso voy al lado*, of the princeps, to the puzzling *al dado* in 1551, when he evidently meant *al dedo*, *al dedo malo*, to the sore spot.

Outside of that, the editor's main contribution, barring the pleasant but rather sketchy introduction, is the verification of references to classical authors, many of them merely by the author's name, of which 140, out of 160, have been identified. This checking-up, the difficulty of which the editor emphasizes, but which is a matter of course in any proper edition, makes one conscious all the more of the absence of all other pertinent comment: on the *realia*, on the phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary and phraseology, a large part, indeed, of that which out of a reprint makes an edition. If no commentary could have been supplied, an index, at least, of noteworthy subject-matter, forms and idioms would have been acceptable. And this might well include forms or idioms, which need no explanation, perhaps, but are recognized as archaic, or fail to answer in some point the definitions of the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy. At random one may note:

38-8 *morar* (trans.) 24-25, 25-9 *Alexandre* 25-19 *lo primero* (adv.) 25-25 *interesse* 29-28 *leuadas* 30-11 *Estos pues dos puntos* 31-27 *Eropilo* 32-31 *anothomia* 38-24 *palo santo* 44-9 *començaron . . . philosophar* 46-24 *Platon en el libro de retorica* (How many readers remember that this refers to the second part of the *Phaedrus*?) 46-17, 117-24, 123-4 *no solamente . . . pero* 56-4 *estos caualleros y yo* 71-23 *lino biuo* (asbestos) 87-32 *humores* 98-25 *albanies* 104-23 *añido* etc.

Elsewhere Mejía (49-36) retells from Pontanus (where?) the anecdote about the buffoon Gonella (*el otro chocarrero* of line 36) and his successful hunt for self-styled physicians, told already in the *Lozana Andaluza*, and which appears in a number of Italian *novellieri*. There are local allusions: to the famous *Gradas* of the cathedral (53), to the *Prado de Tablada* (126), a place with a history long before it became a flying-field; there are proverbs, some of them discussed with entertaining scepticism: *mal de muchos es consuelo* (108), *sabe mas el loco en su casa que el cuerdo en el agena* (114), and here, as well as in the technique itself of the dialogues, the influence of Erasmus is manifest.

But we have what appears to be an authentic text. It is printed without clear separation between the speeches, and therefore not easy to read; we find references to Classics in this form: *Cornelius Celsus on Apollonii duo* (27), and Migne is abbreviated to *Patrologiae* (148), all of which could be avoided; yet the reprint, even

within its all too narrow limits, should be gratefully received as a welcome addition to our small store of usable sixteenth-century texts.

Bryn Mawr College

JOSEPH E. GILLET

Chrétien de Troyes et son œuvre. By GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris: Boivin, 1931. Pp. 513.

Gustave Cohen has turned his vast erudition and unbounded energy into the field of twelfth-century French romances with the avowed purpose of making the works of Chrétien de Troyes better known to the general reader and of contributing toward a greater realization of their literary worth and historical importance. It seems to the present reviewer that he has successfully achieved this purpose. His long book holds the reader's interest to the end. The detailed analyses of Chrétien's romances with accompanying commentary and critical appreciation should be of immense service to those approaching the study of this author. Professor C.'s enthusiasm for Chrétien is contagious, and his estimate of him as one of the great writers of France seems well justified. He calls attention to the portraits of individuals: the males rather monotonous in their even perfection, but offering, by their great courage and remarkable loftiness of soul, excellent models for the young men of the time; the feminine rôles better and more diversified. Chrétien handles crowds well. There is considerable analysis of the motives for conduct and the causes and developments of emotions.

C. calls Chrétien the first *romancier à thèse*. There may be some objection to the use of this technical term in connection with Chrétien's romances but C.'s idea seems to be fundamentally correct if it is not pushed too far; namely, that Chrétien is usually interested in some underlying idea, that the story is not his sole purpose in composing romances. Chrétien intended to furnish models for noble and polite attitudes and conduct and he was interested in the relations between men and women in love.

C.'s book is of somewhat less value to the special student of the romances. The author has made no original or additional contribution to our knowledge or understanding of Chrétien's works. He has often shown excellent judgment in choosing among conflicting interpretations, but he claims no competence in the matter of folkloristic influences and his treatment of the hypothesis of Celtic origins is cursory. He appears to have made no study of Classical influences on Chrétien. In treating the relations between Chrétien and Provençal poets he clings to the views usually held. The question has never been carefully studied and the opinions that are ordinarily accepted are quite arbitrary. They are based

on a chronology that has been arbitrarily laid down without any solid foundation. On the matter of French origins and influences, C. has a great deal to say, but he relies on scholars who have preceded him in this field of study, especially on Wilmotte. The most important questions of French influences on Chrétien depend on the relative chronology of his works and those of his contemporaries. C. has most confused notions of this chronology and his book offers one of the most unfortunate illustrations of the ill effects of pursuing investigation or of writing the literary history of a period in which the dates of the productions have been arbitrarily assigned and maintained by tradition on an unsound basis. C. has not profited from recent indications of better chronology.

Only a few examples can be given. C. assigns the date of 1160 to the *Roman de Troie* because he thinks that Chrétien borrowed the well-known name of Helen of Troy from this romance for his *Erec*. He sees the influence of *Eneas* on *Philomena*. The result of this, according to C.'s various statements, is to place a full half of Chrétien's known work in the years 1161-63 and to include in the years 1160-63 the ten thousand-line romance, *Eneas*, the thirty thousand-line *Troie*, *Philomena*, Chrétien's *Tristan*, a long romance according to C., *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, *Erec et Enide*, and *Cligès*, one after the other in a series, no two being written simultaneously; and in this fruitful period C. would also place the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras. To show the priority of *Thèbes* to *Erec* he adduces the authority of Wilmotte and the evidence of the rime *Thessaile-paile*, but Wilmotte ("Évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150", *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 1903) uses this rime to show the influence of *Troie* on *Erec*. He does not mention the occurrence of this rime in *Thèbes*. It is from my "Chronology of the Earliest French Romances" (*MP.*, xxvi (1929), 257 ff.) that C. has obtained this evidence, which was used in the study from which C. took it to show the weakness of Wilmotte's argument. C. thinks that *Eracle* influenced *Cligès*, that *Cligès* influenced *Ille*, and that *Ille* influenced *Lancelot*. *Ille* however was apparently finished before *Eracle* (see especially Cowper, *MP.*, xvii (1919), 383 ff.). *Eracle* was finished no doubt as late as 1180 and *Cligès* before 1164.

Among the other errors of various types a few will be indicated. C. thinks (p. 13) that the expression *douce France* is original with the author of the *Chanson de Roland*. He could have corrected this false impression by a careful reading of Wilmotte, *Le Français a la tête épique*, which he cites (p. 32) or from Jenkins, *Chanson de Roland*, to which he also refers (p. 32). Either of these books would inform him that various strong physical emotions, including weeping and fainting from grief, are common in Latin poets, contrary to his opinion (p. 52). He refers to the coronation at Nantes in *Erec* (p. 88) as though it were described in the *Lancelot*. He thinks that Chrétien was the first to compare feminine beauty

to roses and lilies (p. 92), but, as a matter of fact, this is a commonplace in Classical poetry (see especially Ogle, *AJP.*, xxxiv (1913), 149 and *MLN.*, xxvii (1912), 234). He is impressed by Chrétien's description of a storm (pp. 101 and 509), but he is unaware that Ovid is closely imitated in this passage, even though he includes in his bibliography the study in which this fact was indicated. He misreads the text of *Erec* and tells us (p. 119) that the *vavas seur* prepares his own meals, whereas Chrétien tells us that a servant is doing so while the *vavas seur* is talking to Erec. He speaks of Erec's "royaume de Lac" (p. 151). We are told (p. 156) that the *barbioletes* mentioned in *Erec* come directly from *Eneas*. This statement is based on the authority of Wilmotte (*Evolution etc.*) whom he does not cite; but Wilmotte says that they came from *Troie*. Yvain is said (p. 327) to make an attack on Count Allier's château, whereas it is really the Count who is attacking the castle of the lady of Noroison.

C.'s bibliography is extensive, but not complete and evidently not fully assimilated, though the book contains a great wealth of information and is written in a pleasing style.

FOSTER E. GUYER

Dartmouth College

Les Conventions du Théâtre Bourgeois Contemporain en France, 1887-1914. Par CLIFFORD H. BISSELL. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1930. Pp. xii + 189.

Cette étude embrasse la période qui s'étend de la fondation du Théâtre-Libre jusqu'à la déclaration de la guerre, la seconde limite s'imposant, paraît-il, du fait que la guerre a causé, entre autres choses, la fermeture de plusieurs théâtres. Les documents sont cent cinquante-deux pièces "distinguées par leur succès, par la réputation de leurs auteurs, par leurs qualités littéraires ou théâtrales, ou qui ont des traits particuliers, par exemple en montrant les étapes dans le développement du talent ou de la pensée de ceux qui les ont créées" (vii-viii). Mr. B. a composé son dossier sans arrière-pensée, dit-il, n'ayant pas connu d'avance toutes les pièces qu'il s'engageait à citer. Comme d'autre part il a rigoureusement éliminé les œuvres qui, ne remplissant pas les conditions énumérées ci-dessus, "n'auraient rien ajouté ni enlevé par leur seule masse" à l'autorité de ses conclusions, le répertoire qu'il examine est la crème du théâtre bourgeois d'avant guerre.

On a déjà certes beaucoup écrit sur les conventions théâtrales des quarante dernières années, mais assurément le champ ne se peut tellement moissonner. . . . D'ailleurs, Mr. B. a pour renouveler son sujet des procédés particuliers. Si, d'une part, il ignore les études

antérieures qui compromettent la fraîcheur de ses constatations, d'autre part, il avance des opinions dont on ne lui disputera jamais la priorité.

Je ne prétends pas supplémenter sa documentation; je veux seulement dire que certains ouvrages américains, tel *Antoine and the Théâtre-Libre*, de S. M. Waxman (Harvard University Press, 1926), ont mérité pour le moins de figurer dans sa Bibliographie. Je ne parlerais point de quelques-uns de mes articles (*PQ.*, iv, 1; v, 2; vi, 3), où il était question de la politique au théâtre et des personnages d'Américains, si la discrète approbation de Mr. B. ne me poussait vraiment hors des bornes de la modestie.

Au surplus, je ne songe guère à reprocher à Mr. B. d'avoir emprunté à toutes mains; je m'étonne cependant du style dont il revêt ses redites. Lorsque, par exemple, il écrit: "Qu'on lise *La course du flambeau*, *Les tenailles* . . . etc. . . on ne pourra manquer de reconnaître le type (du raisonneur classique) dans les personnages de Maravon, Pauline Valanton. . ." (125), le ton de la remarque ne laisse pas de surprendre. On pourrait citer maint passage d'égale bravoure, et telle "curieuse observation" (voir 50, 58-59, 126) n'est déjà plus qu'un vieux renseignement.

Il y a néanmoins dans ce livre une part dont on ne saurait discuter la nouveauté. Ce n'est pas la discussion des conventions matérielles de la scène (28-33), du monologue, de l'aparté, ou des termes *pièce* et *comédie* (36-43), ou des questions de l'argent et de la noblesse (93-100). Ce qui revient sans contredit à Mr. Bissell ce sont des constatations et statistiques qui paraissent ici pour la première fois. Je ne parle pas de ce qu'il dit des rapports de Sarcey avec Antoine, ni de ce qu'il fait dire à Sarcey (vii); je veux relever quelques observations personnelles de Mr. B. "Dans *Mariage blanc*, dit-il, c'est la menace d'un adultère qui amène la catastrophe." Il faut convenir que Mr. B. aperçoit cet adultère de loin, de plus loin assurément que Simone de Thièvres, "la petite poitrinaire . . . que son mari a jusqu'alors traitée comme un enfant, qui ignore tout du mariage. . ." (Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, vi, 336). C'est sans doute au flair qu'il possède pour l'adultère que Mr. B. doit une partie de ses étonnantes computations sur cette matière (62 et seq.). Il a dû être le premier à prononcer que si l'on enlève l'adultère de *Révoltée*, la pièce n'existe plus; je gagerais qu'aucun autre critique n'a seulement soupçonné qu'il y eût dans *Révoltée* un adultère. Quand Mr. B. déclare "assez invraisemblable qu'une femme comme Grâce de Plessans (Bataille, *Marche nuptiale*) ne puisse trouver que dans la mort un refuge contre les instances d'un coureur comme Roger Lechâtelier" (75), ou que *la Crise* (Bourget et Beaunier) est une pièce "de pure politique" (108), il est évidemment sur une voie nouvelle. On a pu croire jusqu'ici que Grâce de Plessans s'est tuée pour ne pas survivre à son roman d'amour, et que la crise senti-

mentale de la pièce de Bourget et Beaunier était tout au moins aussi importante que la crise parlementaire. Pour être juste envers tout le monde il sied de reconnaître que les plus frappantes assertions de Mr. B.—comme celle qui déclare que Miss Deacon (*Maman Colibri*) est la maîtresse d'un Français (104)—ne font que dépasser l'intention du dramaturge ou l'action de la pièce. Il n'aurait donc manqué aux autres critiques que de savoir compléter la pensée des auteurs.

Le livre de Mr. B. est mal composé. Je note, par exemple, que le chapitre des conclusions rouvre à nouveau les discussions qui précèdent. Son style est surchargé d'incorrections. Si la préposition *dans* revient jusqu'à vingt fois sur une page c'est qu'elle cumule les emplois de plusieurs prépositions. Je ne citerai pas des phrases qui sont de pur charabia; il sied de tenir compte de l'intention qui détermina l'auteur à écrire en français. Ce qui me semble plus grave, du reste, c'est que Mr. B. ait commis des non-sens qui ne sont certainement pas dans son esprit. Le "personnage décoré," dit-il, "est présenté sous l'un ou l'autre de deux aspects: ou bien il veut une décoration à tout prix, sérieusement, ou bien la chose est traitée de façon frivole et satirique" (122). Ce qui est à dire, si je ne m'abuse, que, sous l'un comme sous l'autre aspect, le "personnage décoré" n'a pas de décoration. En somme l'entreprise qu'a tentée Mr. B. exigerait une plus large documentation, un travail plus appliqué, une initiative plus sage.

MAURICE BAUDIN

New York University

A History of Early Nineteenth Century Drama: 1800-1850. By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. New York: The Macmillan Company; Cambridge, England: At the University Press; 1930. Vol. I, pp. x + 1-234; vol. II, pp. 235-555. \$11.00.

One lays down these volumes with a profound sense of gratitude toward Professor Allardyce Nicoll. His was an ambitious enterprise. To embark on it took courage; to persevere took more. Perhaps no stage of the project required quite such indomitable persistence as the fifty years considered in the present installment. Yet, having crossed the arid sands of the eighteenth century, the explorer plunged dauntlessly into the morass of post-Sheridan and early Victorian drama. The whole of his second volume is occupied by the hand-list of plays—between ten and twelve thousand of them! Mr. Nicoll's preface should inspire more than one generation of drama students. He hopes that "this mapping out of the country to be surveyed may lead other scholars to enter more deeply into uncharted land. . . . Whatever value the texts of my

volumes may have, I feel that I have been able to do something for the study of English dramatic literature by the preparation of these appendices, which serve the double purpose of stage-list and 'bibliography.' This modest statement deserves the most emphatic endorsement. We may now expect to see a new corps of researchers move in to consolidate the territory. Gleaners will bring more titles to the inevitably and confessedly incomplete hand-list. But it is no derogation of Professor Bradlee Watson's valuable *Sheridan to Robertson*, concerned primarily with the theatres, to acknowledge that to Mr. Nicoll belongs the credit of throwing open this field to intensive cultivation. The plays of the period are practically worthless in themselves. But as a ground for the study of the relation between drama and the background of life, and of the origins of the second great renaissance of British drama, it is certain to reward the attentions of the scholar.

As for the first volume, Mr. Nicoll is habitually sane and discriminating. Well aware of the weaknesses of the theatres of this period, he points out that Shakespeare accepted the limitations of his medium and produced *King Lear*. The approach to the dramatists is critical but not hostile. Especially refreshing is Mr. Nicoll's trouncing of the Romantic poets—for their priggishness, their lack of humor, their pettishness:

Authors,—who blush to throw their pearls to swine;
Vain of their triumphs of *rejected* Plays,
And talents, never mortified by praise. . . .
Their boast, their proud distinction, *not* to please,
Hooted and hiss'd they calmly sit at ease;
While conscious Genius happily supplies
The laurel wreaths a niggard world denies.

Professor Nicoll offers other important reasons for the decline of the drama: the nature of the German influence on the poets; the lack of "a sound body of scientific, historical and appreciative interpretation of past dramatic efforts"; the slender profits of the playwrights; the star system; the increased size of the theatres; the incompatibility of romantic exuberance with the "essential restraint and tremendous condensation" required of the playwright; the general drabness of the age, emphasized by Professor Watson; the evil influence of the Elizabethans, especially Shakespeare. Other features of the book are the argument for the continuity of English drama 1780-1850, despite the vogue of adaptation from the French; and the recognition that the period's most vital genre was melodrama.

There is bound of course to be disagreement about some details. I think, for example, that Mr. Nicoll exaggerates when he asserts that no one ever doubted the dramatic debility of the age. There was certainly a great deal of trenchant protest, but on the other hand it is easy to see the heavy hand of Victorian complacency.

"There has been no period for the last two centuries," boasts Tom Taylor in his introduction to *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1863),

in which invention and activity have been more conspicuous in the dramatic field than during the thirty or forty years which include the epoch of such dramatists as Miss Mitford, Sheridan Knowles, Bulwer-Lytton, James White, Jerrold, Browning, G. Darley, Searle, Marston, Horne, Lovell, Troughton, Mrs. Bell, Gore, Sullivan, Peake, Poole, Hook, Planché, Charles and George Dance, the Mortons, Mark Lemon, Buckstone, Selby, Fitzball (who, whatever may be the literary quality of his plays, has given evidence of genuine romantic invention), Bernard Coyne, Oxenford, Shirley Brooks, Watts, Phillips, and those peculiar products of our own time, the burlesque writers, like the brothers Brough, and Messrs. Byron and Burnand.

A great merit of Mr. Nicoll's work is the result of his refusal to be swamped by the welter of details he is obliged to deal with. He constantly looks beyond the confines of his period, relating it to those he has already treated as well as to our own time. Each of his special studies gains immeasurably from his command of the whole range of English drama and his acute and sensitive understanding of its present state. We await with impatience his next installment; but it is devoutly to be wished that he will not stop with 1900. No one else is so well equipped to consider the present of the English drama in the light of its past.

HAZELTON SPENCER

The Handwriting of the Renaissance. Being the Development and Characteristics of the Script of Shakspeare's Time. By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM. With an Introduction by ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 210. \$4.00.

Dr. Tannenbaum's book is a practical manual and will be particularly welcome to the many English scholars who are now making a late beginning in the learning of the Elizabethan hand. In his first chapter the author gives enough Latin paleography, with brief descriptions and illustrative cuts, to form a setting for the study of the English secretary hand of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The second chapter is devoted to the general characteristics of that hand and enters into particulars as to variety of letters,—bodies, stems, joins, angularity, position with reference to the horizontal line, and so forth. The author makes clear, for example, the nature of indentations in stems, the frequent substitution of angles for stems and vice versa, and the forms and uses of spurs. He does not enumerate all calligraphic tricks but describes the basal ones and prepares his scholars for the sort of thing which

may appear in any handwriting or group of handwritings. In other words, he attempts to present the secretary hand analytically. He next subjects each letter, both minuscule and majuscule, to minute study, grouping varieties in such a way as to show both the development of the letter and its retention of characteristic features. This is surely the best approach for mature minds. Not infrequently the author ends these sections on the individual letters with cautionary notes on the possibility of mistaking one letter for another. He has remarks also on the forms of letters as they appear in abbreviations and on the conventional significances of single letters.

There are separate chapters on abbreviations, on punctuation and other scribal marks, and on numerals. The author has also provided an excellent brief bibliography, fourteen plates showing types of handwriting (with transliteration) drawn from various periods, and an index. One must agree with Professor Thorndike, who writes a brief introduction to the book, as to "the author's extraordinary energy and versatility."

HARDIN CRAIG

Stanford University

Shakespeare-Jahrbuch. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von WOLFGANG KELLER. Band 66 (Neue Folge VII Band). Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1930. Geheftet M. 8; gebunden M. 10.

The sixty-sixth volume of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, like its predecessors, is made up of articles of somewhat unequal interest. But such a result is almost inevitable in a collection of papers contributed by different authors. No essay in the *Jahrbuch* of 1930, it should be said, is without value.

The first of the *Aufsätze* is "König Jakob I, Ein Charakterbild," Professor A. O. Meyer's *festvortrag*, delivered before the Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft at its meeting April 23, 1930. Professor Meyer's evident enthusiasm for Queen Elizabeth perhaps partially blinds him to the positive merits of James I. Yet the sketch, as a whole, is not unfair; and the picture of the first Stuart is a clear one.

Dr. Gertrud Hille's "Londoner Theaterbauten zur Zeit Shakespeares" is upon that already much discussed subject, the English theater. Although few, if any, of the details in Dr. Hille's essay are new, she has sought to handle the extant material in a novel way: she would consider the theater of Shakespeare's time as a whole, trying to rebuild it from a consideration of all known evidence. As the specifications for the Fortune playhouse are still preserved, she naturally reconstructs that building, using them and

the clews of one sort or another to the fabric of the Elizabethan theater which she finds elsewhere. Her *Fortune Theater* is an interesting but not a wholly convincing edifice.

Dr. Agnes Henneke's "Shakespeares Englische Könige" is a somewhat mechanical dissertation in which is discussed the influence of sixteenth-century theories of government upon Shakespeare's treatment of the kings in his plays. Having defined "die monarchomachische Staatsrechtslehre" and die "absolutistische Staatsrechtslehre," Dr. Henneke sets out to analyze Shakespeare's portraits of the sovereigns in his historical plays. Her conclusion appears to be that he leans rather toward sympathizing with absolutism and aristocracy than with a limited monarchy and its accompaniment, a powerful middle class. After all, this can hardly be called a discovery. More validity possibly might have been secured by the author had she also dealt with Shakespeare's non-historical plays, in which he was less hampered by his source material and by contemporary taboos.

Herr Hans Mortl's "Dämonie und Theatre in der Novelle 'Der junge Tischlemeister'" is a discussion of Ludwig Tieck's tale, which is followed by Dr. E. Weigelin's suggestive "Die Tötung des Polonius." Dr. G. Wieninger's brief "Schopenhauer in seiner Stellung zu Shakespeare" determines the philosopher's knowledge of the English poet and—what no doubt will disconcert many readers—argues for the accord in their beliefs.

The last essay in the volume is that of the President of the Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft, Professor Wolfgang Keller, upon "Shakespeares 'Troilus und Cresside.'" Professor Keller's discussion of this somewhat enigmatical play is likely to arouse controversy. He believes that *Troilus and Cressida* owes its tone to Shakespeare's relations with the executed Earl of Essex (although he dates the drama in 1602); and he admits little or no burlesquing of the Homeric heroes by the dramatist.

The *Jahrbuch*, as usual, is concluded with excellent summaries of publications bearing upon Shakespeare and the Shakespearean theater; a bibliography of Shakespeare literature; and a list of the recorded performances of Shakespearean plays in Germany during 1929. This last "Statistischer Überblick" covers six pages in double column. The *Jahrbuch* amply demonstrates the maintained interest of German scholars in the dramas of Shakespeare; such a formidable record of plays presented proves beyond doubt that the German theatergoer shares that interest.

ROBERT S. FORSYTHE

The University of North Dakota

Thomas Heywood. By ARTHUR MELVILLE CLARK. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931. Pp. ix + 356. One guinea.

Dr. Clark's own preface is so definite about his contributions that quotation is useful:

Among the points on which I have been able to throw light are the following: Heywood's parentage and Lincolnshire home, his Cheshire ancestry and his family arms, his relatives, marriage(s), and descendants; his education at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; his friends and patrons . . . ; the dating of his plays and other works; wrong identifications of plays with entries in Henslowe and . . . many misattributions . . . ; the circumstances which made Heywood an apologist for the theatre and thrust on him the championship of women . . . ; his lost works and unfulfilled projects, especially *The Lives of all the Poets* . . .

My additions to the canon are numerous, but I beg to assure the reader that my conclusions were neither hasty nor ill-considered. Some of the additions will not be questioned; e. g. *Love's School*, *A True Discourse of two . . . Prophets*, *A True Relation of . . . Purser and Clinton*, *The Rat Trap*, and portions of five other pamphlets; I should also mention here, *The Phoenix of these late Times*, *A Curtain Lecture*, *The Wonder of this Age*, *Machiavel's Ghost*, and *Reader, here you'll plainly see*, which have never been properly recognized as Heywood's. The evidence for other new ascriptions is, I believe, no less sound . . . [four pamphlets, followed by three more in which the evidence is more circumstantial]. Secondly, there are several plays in which I trace Heywood's hand: *Appius and Virginia*, *Dick of Devonshire*, *The Jew of Malta*, *The Martyred Soldier*, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* with the associated *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. . . I have also briefly set forth my reasons for assigning Heywood a small share in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, . . . I have not seen the unique copy of *Oenone and Paris* . . .

Thus it appears that the business of Heywood is settled save for the errant *Oenone and Paris*. Students who read critically the 342 pages of text will find, however, several items less convincing to them than to the author. The fundamental defect in the study is the author's equation of conjecture with proof. His so-called additions to our knowledge about Heywood's private life are based, not upon new facts, but upon personal beliefs. For example, he believes that for Heywood's father, "we have found him in the Reverend Robert Heywood, rector of Rothwell and of Ashby-Cum-Fenby, two livings in the deanery of Grimsby" (p. 2), apparently unaware that Miss Katherine Lee Bates long ago weighed the evidence for the minister's paternity and found it wanting. On inconclusive evidence, assuming that Heywood was an alumnus of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he later refers to this as an accepted fact (p. 332). "Marriage," a prominent word in the heading of Chapter IV, proves a dim, ghostly matter. Finding two records of marriages of Thomas Heywoods, Dr. Clark assumes that they are both the dramatist, in his first and second ventures, and proceeds to discuss the descendants as if the facts were proved (pp. 57 ff.). Again if he had remembered Miss Bates' remarks on the multiplicity of

Thomas Heywoods, the author might have been less assured. In the entire book there is not a new fact, either proved or soundly reasoned, about Heywood the man.

Indeed, the study reads as if the author had gathered up the works of Heywood with a few miscellaneous treatises and retired to the pleasant precincts of Oriel College to turn out a book, a book which shows industry, but industry which might have been saved had he been more keenly aware of what had already been written. Aside from a few references to Miss Bates' study, he makes little use of her evidence or stimulating suggestions. He ignores the work of R. G. Martin save for one allusion, and apparently is unaware of Philip Aronstein's studies, not to mention many others of less importance. Preferring to hammer his way single-handed, Dr. Clark has wasted unmercifully his own and the reader's time. His announcement that the Heywood bibliography in the forthcoming *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* is to be his handiwork causes apprehension for the completeness and utility of that compilation.

Unscientific scholarship could be forgiven in a brilliantly written book, but 342 pedestrian pages of an author even careless of his grammar one finds a bit thick. "A reading . . . incline us to a belief . . ." (p. 103) can be overlooked more easily than such syntactical whimsicality as may be found on p. 255 (or elsewhere at the reader's will). Misprints and minor errors furnish further distractions. For example: *labour* for *labour* (p. 254); *centemporary* for *contemporary* (p. 255); *F. J.* for *F. I.* Carpenter (p. 259); *Oppius* for *Appius* (p. 273); *Sowerman* for *Sowernam* (p. 96); *delate* for *relate* (p. 122); *Sherburn* for *Shirburn* (p. 276); *Medley of History* for the 1638 title of Brathwaite's *A Survey of History* (p. 98).

But these are mere details. One examines hopefully Dr. Clark's conclusions about the Heywood canon, though his method of disposing of such contemporary scholarship on the subject as he chooses to consider is not reassuring. His comment on Professor J. Q. Adams' claim for Heywood of certain scenes in *Captain Thomas Stukeley* is a brief dismissal: "But in reading the play carefully we could not catch the unmistakable sound of Heywood's voice" (p. 329). Something more than the still small voice seems necessary. Some of Dr. Clark's attributions are already known from earlier publication. Heywood, it seems clear, had a hand in *Appius and Virginia*, though scholars will not agree that he was the original author and Webster the reviser. Two passages convince Dr. Clark sufficiently to make him dogmatic about *Dick of Devonshire*: "These two samples illustrate the Heywood quality which is so pervasive as to eliminate the possibility of a collaborator. The play is in all respects and from every point of view pure

Heywood, . . ." (p. 286). Miss Bates, however, felt that Bullen's ascription to Heywood should be set aside.

With considerable plausibility Dr. Clark argues for Heywood's authorship of *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and his hand in the related play, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. His study of Heywood's clowns as a clue to authorship, employed here, is an interesting approach which warrants further investigation. The contention that Heywood is responsible for the concluding portions of *The Jew of Malta* is merely an interesting conjecture. His attribution to Heywood of a group of Puritan pamphlets, dated 1641, the year of the dramatist's death, is not discriminating. Some of the pamphlets may be from the dramatist's hand, but that the old man wrote all of them in his latter days is inconceivable. Once more Dr. Clark exposes himself to criticism by his method. Assuming the certain authorship of a doubtful pamphlet, such, for example, as *Reader, here you'll plainly see*, he "proves" Heywood authorship for another pamphlet from parallels therein. (Cf. pp. 200 ff.) His belief that Edward Phillips' *Theatrum Poetarum* is a plagiarism of Heywood's lost *Lives of All the Poets*, though still suggested (p. 99), is less positive than when he asserted the relationship in his earlier *Bibliography of Thomas Heywood*.

Perhaps Dr. Clark's efforts might have been clearer had he chosen an arrangement more lucid than the rough chronology, with switchbacks at will, into which he lumps biography, bibliography, and "scholarship" involving the parallel passage process. If he had pursued the study of Heywood's vocabulary (a valuable approach in Heywood's case) with more philological skill and a consciousness of Elizabethan commonplaces, the results, one feels, would have been more convincing. Though useless as a contribution to a knowledge of Heywood, Dr. Clark's work will serve a purpose in graduate courses in research methods.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

The University of North Carolina

William Congreve. By D. CRANE TAYLOR. Oxford: University Press, 1931. Pp. xi + 252.

This book was undertaken in 1921 at the suggestion of Sir Walter Raleigh. The author implies that it was completed two years later. Unfortunately Mr. Taylor has been a little chary of utilizing the labors of other post-Victorian writers, and has failed to document his work adequately. He tells a plain chronological tale of Congreve's activities, but his sweeping generalizations lay him open to censure. He presents no evidence that Charles II "exerted no small influence in moulding comedy to his taste,"

and implies that the adoption of sex intrigue as its favorite theme was due to the Merry Monarch's addiction to his amours, though in the next paragraph he correctly derives the element of sex intrigue from the pre-Wars drama. More light will be thrown on the origins of Restoration comedy by studying the influence of Jonson and his followers than by assuming that the Restoration involved a break with the past. We need, more than such books as this, careful studies of minor Restoration authors. Most of our generalizations about the drama of this period rest on observation of a handful of the major figures.

Mr. Taylor is very opinionated. He belittles Wycherley and condemns Shadwell as if unaware of the latter's rehabilitation at the hands of Messrs. Borgman, Nicoll, and Summers. Congreve is praised extravagantly. It is absurd to say that since his death no literary artist "could rival him in compactness and polish of phrase or in his understanding of the rich quality of words." It is absurd to say that he is "possibly the greatest innovator among English stylists" and that "in range of effect, from melting tenderness to vituperance and rage, he has never been excelled among prose writers." In support of the last of these claims Mr. Taylor quotes Hazlitt and Macaulay, apparently unmindful that a great deal of the best English prose has been written since their day. The present reviewer yields to no one in taking sheer delight in Congreve, and, temporarily hypnotized by re-reading *Love for Love* and *The Way of the World*, has been guilty of trying to convince college classes that their author is the foremost comic writer of England. But to assert, as Mr. Taylor does, that he is so "by common consent" is more than absurd. Sheridan's claim is brushed aside, and not a word is said of the author of *Candida*. No man can possibly be first "by common consent" who wrote but four comedies, all in essentially the same vein, and whose most brilliant play failed on the stage of its own time. Mr. Taylor attempts unsuccessfully to minimize its failure.

This critic does not appear to be thoroughly familiar with the apparatus of scholarship for his period. He is wrong in holding Downes a reliable authority. He ignores J. W. Krutch's *Comedy and Conscience* when he declares that the Collier controversy has never been adequately treated. His own treatment leaves much to be desired. He is obviously prejudiced against the *Short View* and muddled about its effect. On p. 106 we are told that "within a few years it swept the brilliant comedy of manners from the stage, and so devitalized the comic muse that, except in a few plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan, she inspired nothing of distinction for two centuries." But on p. 142 we learn that "Genest's records of the plays performed and the announcements of new editions in the newspapers prove that many of the most offensive plays were revived with success in the years following the *Short View*, while the

new plays written during the same period were not greatly chastened."

It should, however, be observed that Mr. Taylor has been able to make some minor additions to the Congreve canon. Several of his other discoveries had been anticipated before he published. While his work, like Gosse's, will serve to acquaint admirers of *The Way of the World* with the facts about Congreve, neither its additions to them nor its critical conclusions quite warrant the production of a new book.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Leigh Hunt's "Examiner" Examined. By EDMUND BLUNDEN.

London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1928. Pp. xi + 263. 15 s.

Leigh Hunt, a Biography. By EDMUND BLUNDEN. London:

Cobden-Sanderson, 1930. Pp. 402. 21 s.

One of the extraordinary blanks in English literary history and biography is the absence of any careful study of Leigh Hunt's life and works. No modern critic would assert, probably, that he was of the first rank in any department of letters, but he was after all a considerable figure in the London scene for nearly sixty years. He was (with Cobbett as the only possible rival for the title) the leading Radical journalist during many crucial years of the struggle for Reform; he was, in the judgment of Mr. William Archer, "the earliest English dramatic critic"; his personal essays revived a style of writing the direct descendants of which may be seen for better or for worse in the "columns" of our daily and weekly press; his definition of "What is Poetry," by her own admission, taught the late Miss Amy Lowell to appreciate that art; the traces of his influence, both good and bad, can be seen in the works of Keats from beginning to end; and, finally, during his long life he included in his circle of acquaintances and friends practically every English writer worth the knowing. The life of Shelley's *dimidium animae*, Byron's defender, colleague, and accuser (some say traducer), Carlyle's neighbor, the Brownings' correspondent, should be worth writing for its collateral interest if for nothing more. But there is something more: Hunt's own personality presents a problem in interpretation that one would have expected some biographer to have discovered before this. In our own day, although the student of the first half of the nineteenth century knows a fair amount concerning Hunt, almost everyone else thinks of him only as the sweet sentimentalist of "Jenny Kissed Me" and "Abou ben Adhem"—that is, the Hunt of the last years. To his contemporaries on the other hand he was anything from the idealized "Libertas" of

Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke to the "Living Dog" of Tom Moore's scurrilous epigram. It is part of the function of Hunt's biographer to judge these conflicting opinions with detachment and wisdom and to evolve a figure more credible than either.

These two volumes before us are the first real attempts to survey Hunt's life. The previous biographies, by Mr. Brimley Johnson and by Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, were mere workings-over of the *Autobiography* and the *Correspondence*. The fact that there are two books instead of one is also a result of the circumstances. Mr. Blunden first began work on the biography some ten years ago: it was announced for publication in 1923. The author's appointment to a post in the Imperial University at Tokyo intervened however, a change that naturally separated him from his sources. By great good luck one of his colleagues had a set of the *Examiner*, the most important of all of Hunt's periodicals; he therefore improved his enforced vacation from his major work by leafing through the volumes and putting together a conspectus of their contents. It is not planned as a popular work ("its appeal must be rather to the precise observer of English literary movements a hundred years and more ago, than to the ordinary reader") but it is invaluable for any study of the period, since the *Examiner* was the organ of the poetical and critical Radicals as well as the political. It has one unfortunate limitation, however: it is concerned almost entirely with the literary aspect of the *Examiner* and very little with the political or social. Hunt has never been given his just dues as a political journalist, and one regrets to see lost this opportunity to restore the balance. His Political *Examiners* contain some of his best writings: varied, vigorous, and with an agreeable tartness that mellowed out in his later years. Had Mr. Blunden included some of this political writing among the selections with which he concludes the volume he would have performed an added service.

The "Biography," unlike the other book, is intended for the general reader, and as such performs its work fairly well. It is written in a style which, though it fails to attain Mr. Strachey's incisiveness or Mr. Lucas's charm, is rapid and vigorous and good-humored. And it presents an incomparably fuller account (though one may question whether any portrait may approach in vividness Hunt's own in the *Autobiography*) than any we have. Mr. Blunden has gone faithfully through contemporary published records, and has had access to collections of letters; as a result we read here for the first time a full account of the dispute between John and Leigh Hunt over the proprietorship of the *Examiner*, and we get at some length the exposition of Mrs. Hunt's weaknesses and "ranting Johnny's" sins. Beside these major contributions, there are innumerable minor details brought in that give the picture depth.

Unfortunately, however, one cannot say that the Life of Hunt has been definitively written. Mr. Blunden has "preferred not to

interrupt the reader . . . with a researcher's specifications and bristling references." It would seem that Professor Lowes had amply demonstrated that notes and references need not be intrusive or dull for even the most tender-minded reader; their absence very seriously injures the book's value for other scholars in the field. There are, moreover, some surprising omissions in Mr. Blunden's narrative, omissions which are in part due to his inability to consult manuscript material in American collections. There is, for instance, no consideration of the *Reflector* as a genuinely literary magazine that antedated both *Blackwood's* and the *London* by many years. There is no mention of the quarrel with Murray over the publication of *Rimini* or with Taylor and Hessey at about the same time, both incidents being indicative of Hunt's character. The account of Hunt's journey to Italy and of the *Liberal* is inaccurate in detail. The *Plain Dealer* is omitted from the list of Hunt's periodicals. In other ways also the treatment of Hunt as a person is unsatisfactory. Mr. Blunden had a subject about which an unfavorable legend had grown up, and he has allowed himself to become sometimes (notably in the Byron-Hunt controversy) the apologist rather than the observer. He has also been deterred, apparently by a distaste for raking up forgotten scandals, from treating explicitly certain questions. We should like to know, for instance, as exactly as it can be determined, what Hunt's relationship—and by that one does not necessarily mean adultery—was with his sister-in-law, Bessy Kent. We should like to see it frankly admitted (as Mr. Blunden must know if he has read Dickens's letters) that Dickens at the time of finishing *Bleak House*, growing intensely irritated at Hunt, had in all probability written that irritation into Skimpole, and that the later explanations and apologies, though doubtless sincere, are not wholly ingenuous. We should like to see the story of the Italian interlude written with a frank recognition of the fact that no one of the actors was wholly to blame and no one wholly innocent. The truth is that Mr. Blunden is a poet but no biographer; he has imagination and sympathy, but not cool and judicial understanding of human acts and motives.

G. D. STOUT

Washington University, Saint Louis

Bulwer: a Panorama. Part I: Edward and Rosina: 1803-1836.

By MICHAEL SADLEIR. London (Constable) and Boston (Little, Brown). Pp. xiv + 409. \$4.00.

This is to be a three-volume work. The second part, *Gore House, or the Life of Lady Blessington*, will cover the period from about 1830 to 1850; and the third, the title of which is not yet announced, will cover that from 1850 to Bulwer's death in 1873.

Edward and Rosina has not a few merits. It tells the tragicomic story of young Bulwer and his wife in a vivacious and witty manner. It draws parallelisms between the types and moods of Bulwer's era and those of our own post-war times which are amusing and illuminating. And those readers who like biographies in which the biographer frequently seems as much in the foreground as the subject himself will enjoy Mr. Sadleir's manner of writing. The book is an entertaining interpretation of one feverish age by another.

To the literary scholar, however, it will on the whole be disappointing. I do not deny that Mr. Sadleir was free to choose his audience, and to treat his subject in a manner suitable thereto; but I believe he could have written, had he so chosen, a book of much greater scholarly value than this. He missed a distinct opportunity. Heretofore, the standard work on Bulwer was *The Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton* (1913), by his grandson. Though valuable as a fair-minded and well-documented account of the incidents of Bulwer's career, it did not concern itself with literary criticism or history.¹ The road was open to a biographer who should thoroughly clarify Bulwer's position in the literary and intellectual currents of his age. That Mr. Sadleir might have performed this difficult and much needed service is evidenced by his essay, *The Northanger Novels*, and his letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* (August 11, 1927), "Melodrama in Fiction." There he exhibited remarkable powers of analyzing, classifying, and inter-relating various types of novels—powers urgently required in the study of Bulwer's works.

In *Edward and Rosina*, Mr. Sadleir's treatment of such problems is casual and superficial. What he says concerning the influence of the Gothic school (*e. g.*, p. 287) ignores recent studies and is too vague to be helpful. What he says about Bulwer's ideas and their origin is not only superficial but also contemptuous. He is too little interested in the relations between Bulwer's views and those of Bolingbroke, Sterne, Godwin, Goethe, and Byron. He makes the dangerous assumption that because Bulwer was often a poseur, his whole intellectual life was essentially a pose. A man may be an unoriginal and unstable thinker without being always insincere. Silly and ephemeral as were some of the theories that Bulwer took up, they were important motivating forces in his novels; and to underestimate their reality to Bulwer is to distort his portrait. This fault is seen, for example, in Mr. Sadleir's pages on *Eugene Aram*. Here, after giving an account of the hostile comments upon

¹ This work is not superseded by Mr. Sadleir's, for the latter does not reprint all of the Bulwer correspondence, and in fact omits some of the most important letters. Mr. Sadleir frequently and admiringly refers to the Earl of Lytton's biography, and assumes his readers to have access to it.

Bulwer's interpretation of the criminal, Mr. Sadleir waves such objections out of court as impertinent, saying:

Inasmuch as these modern judgments resemble their predecessors in testing Bulwer's novel by standards purely literary, they partake of the same irrelevance. Although no one will deny that as a work of art *Eugene Aram* would have benefitted by forestalling most of the criticisms quoted, these criticisms in their various ways do Bulwer injustice by doing him more than justice. They ignore one element in his novel-writing which was seldom wholly absent and in these early years predominant—the opportunist element of giving the public what it wanted (p. 251).

Here and repeatedly elsewhere, Mr. Sadleir, a director of Constable's, falls into a fallacy congenial to publishers, viz.: that the chief reason why authors write books is in order to make money, and that what they are mainly thinking of as they compose is to please the public. In Bulwer's case, this seems to me to magnify a minor motive, to underestimate many motives of much greater force, and falsely though conveniently to simplify the problem of explaining a complex personality and an extremely rich variety of literary works.

Although disappointing in its fundamental character, *Edward and Rosina* makes some welcome contributions to Bulwer-scholarship in details. Mr. Sadleir, having diligently examined the contemporaneous criticisms of the novels, gives us the first extensive account of the controversies which they aroused. And he furnishes much new information about the enemies and friends of Bulwer, such as William Maginn, the blackmailer Westmacott, "L. E. L," and Lockhart.

ERNEST BERNBAUM

University of Illinois

Selected Poems of Thomas Walsh. With a Memoir by JOHN BUNKER and Appreciations by EDWARD L. KEYES and MICHAEL WILLIAMS. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh = The Dial Press, 1930. Pp. xxx + 257. \$2.50.

The poems in this definitive edition, which is carefully and artistically printed, reveal in conventional form the thoughts and feelings of a far-travelled and scholarly gentleman. No striving after unusual effects in any of the modern poetic manners disturbs their quiet beauty. Likewise, the subjects are not of the here and now, but of other times, persons, and customs, all interpreted in the light of Catholic tradition and philosophy. If the poems cannot be called great, they are, nevertheless, satisfying and urbane; though few lines make themselves unforgettable, some of the dramatic pieces leave a vivid impression that is reminiscent of Robert Browning.

Certainly the best of the selected poems are the narrative and the dramatic, for it is in this field that the objectivity of Thomas Walsh's artistic power can fasten upon concrete characters and adequately present them in terse dialog at some crisis of their career. For instance, *Egidio of Coimbra—1597 A. D.* portrays the humanness as well as the cleverness of Suarez in disputation. In *Murillo Paints "The Assumption"* the great painter reveals himself as impatient, solely because the young model for the Virgin has fallen in love.

Since of all the countries of the world Spain attracted Walsh most, it is not surprising to discover that much of his poetry deals with Spain, particularly its painters and its monks—art and religion, the twin foci of the poet's life. Indeed, so thoroughly has he saturated himself with things Spanish and so accurately has he recreated them that his poems can well serve as an introduction to the history and literature of that country for those who cannot read Spanish or for those who are only beginning to learn the language.

FRANCIS E. A. LITZ

Baltimore, Maryland

Twelfth Night, or What You Will. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Edited by SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH and JOHN DOVER WILSON. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xxviii + 193. \$1.90.

The Merchant of Venice. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. (*The Avon Shakespeare.*) Edited with Introduction and Notes by R. ADELAIDE WITHAM. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929. Pp. ix + 284. \$0.68.

The two books listed above offer a perfect contrast in the approach to the study of Shakespeare. Both approaches are currently followed in the study of Shakespeare in this country, and one would like to see them brought closer together. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch supplies, as heretofore, the introductory essay to the Cambridge edition of *Twelfth Night*. His work is, as usual, somewhat different in its point of view from that of the textual editor, Professor John Dover Wilson. Sir Arthur writes pleasantly about Epiphany and apologizes for having anything to say about so pedantical a subject as sources. The sources, however, thrust themselves forward in this case, and the late Professor Barrett Wendell supplies him with a phrase for *Twelfth Night*—"a masterpiece not of invention but of recapitulation." He next writes charmingly about the characters as if they were veritable persons, taking a serious view of Malvolio, whom he sees at the end impenitent, "his hypocrisy still wrapt

about him for a cloak of maliciousness." Sir Arthur would not, however, have Malvolio made "too sympathetic" in the acting, because we should not allow Malvolio "to dominate this play any more than we should allow his kind to dominate our daily life." Feste is held to be "the master-mind and controller of *Twelfth Night*." In this particular the editors have agreed well, for Mr. Wilson's ingenuity has been exercised in elucidating the double and triple wit of this remarkable clown.

Mr. Dover Wilson's work on this play is unusually conservative. He seems to think of *Twelfth Night* as having been preserved in the Folio practically in the state of its original composition. There is a bit of surprise in this. Fleay's supposition that the verse scenes are much earlier than the prose scenes, a subject much more plausibly treated by Professor Henry David Gray (*The Original Version of "Love's Labour's Lost" with a conjecture as to "Love's Labour's Won,"* Stanford University Publications, University Series No. 31, 1918), is rejected. The Malvolio scenes seem to stand out with some clarity from the main texture of the Italianate comedy. One would not like to see Professor Wilson deliberately refraining from conjecture. In spite of the growing severity of criticism one would like to see him carry through his work as an editor of Shakespeare of intrepid and untrammelled modernism. Professor Wilson does, however, agree with Mr. Richmond Noble that the songs assigned in the Folio to Feste were in an earlier version sung by the boy who played Viola and that various more or less appropriate alterations have been made in the text of the play to provide for this change. The singing clown, the editor thinks, was Robert Armin. The play is to be dated in 1601-2. It bears evidences in its legal references and jests of having been composed for presentation in the Middle Temple, in accordance with the reference in Manningham's *Diary*. Other circumstances pointing to that year, besides the famous mention of the map with the "augmentation of the Indies" (III, ii, 77-8), are to be found in the Star Chamber case of the Puritan Sir Posthumous Hoby (a suggestion derived from Miss Violet Wilson, *Some Women of Shakespeare's Time*, 1924, pp. 238-56) and to the exploits in Persia of Sir Anthony Shirley and his brothers. On the other hand, Professor Wilson finds much to connect the play with the year 1606, several allusions to the doctrine of equivocation, for example, and concludes somewhat doubtfully that these features entered the play at the time of a revival and revision of the play in 1606.

Twelfth Night has an excellent text, printed in the Folio, Professor Wilson thinks, not from Shakespeare's manuscript but from an authoritative prompt-book, itself a careful transcript of the original. It follows that the editor's best work is in the elucidation of details in the text. The intricate jesting of Feste and the always pointed drunken jesting of Sir Toby have been too often

passed over by editors as hopeless nonsense. Again and again Professor Wilson shows a shrewd meaning behind these utterances. Shakespeare, he thinks after editing thirteen comedies, "never places pointless remarks in the mouths of his characters, and . . . where they appear pointless, that is generally because we have missed the point."

The editor of *The Merchant of Venice* in the Avon Shakespeare has set herself the task of providing in one edition all that students should know in order to play the play, or, at least, to appreciate it as a play. This is interpreted as a knowledge of London, of the origin and development of English drama, of the Shakespearean theater, and of Shakespeare himself. To this already voluminous background are added suggestions for cutting the text, setting the stage, and costuming the actors. The mass of materials is intelligently managed and very pleasantly presented. There is really no conflict between this object proposed and the study of the play as literature, although the editor suggests in the preface that there is.

HARDIN CRAIG

Stanford University

BRIEF MENTION

New Links with Shakespeare. By E. A. B. BERNARD. Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xiv + 135. \$4.00. The links in this book are not with Shakespeare but with Henry Condell, Shakespeare's associate in the King's Company and the co-editor of the First Folio of 1623. The author has found a second authentic signature of Henry Condell and has established an event of minor importance in his life. In the documents of the Hanley Court Collection, arranged and calendared by the author in 1925, he found an indenture, dated May 23, 1617, and executed in connection with the purchase by Condell of the moiety of a small estate known as Brockhampton in the parish of Stanton in Gloucestershire. With this also was a conveyance in Latin, dated August 18, 1619, which bears the signature of Condell. Both documents are in the handwriting of Humphrey Dyson, London notary public and well known collector of the proclamations of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. Mr. Barnard collects data about the witnesses to the documents and about William Washbourne, who was co-purchaser with Condell. The history of the transaction is followed by studies of the life of Elizabeth, widow of Henry Condell, resting mainly on her will preserved at Somerset House, of various persons and matters connected with the Brock-

hampton and Broadway area of Gloucestershire, and of a Chancery Proceeding (May, 1633) having to do with the release of William Condell, son of Henry Condell, from his apprenticeship to a London grocer named Peter Saunderson. There are also studies of Sir Charles Percy of Dumbleton and of Humphrey Dyson. The contributions are of minor importance but are real. A re-study of the prefatory matter of the First Folio and the Poems is of less value. The Hanley Court documents are now at the Birmingham Reference Library.

Shakespearean Comedy and Other Studies. By AMARANTHA JHA. Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1930. Pp. 214. Mr. Jha, who is Reader in English Literature at the University of Allahabad, takes his Shakespearean comedy rather seriously. It may be that he is racially sensitive to certain interesting things. After a brief attempt to state a theory of comedy, which would possibly have been no more successful had it been longer, the author decides, in Sidney's phrase, that Shakespeare wrote no "right comedies and no right tragedies." In the discussion which follows of the comic qualities of a score of plays, one feels that it is the kinship of tears and laughter which has impressed the author most. Mr. Jha is quite sincere, gentle in his point of view, and well read in the nineteenth-century Shakespeare critics. The volume also contains an essay on *Hamlet*, a rather enlightened and intelligible essay, in which the author defends Shakespeare's hero as a normal person and a man of action, whose tragic failure was due to the fact that his lot was cast in circumstances of "havoc, and spoil, and ruin." *Hamlet* was not mad, the author thinks. Another of the essays in the book is an ingenuous defense of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, which does not, however, elevate these unfortunate gentlemen to any great importance. A relatively long essay on "Shakespeare's Treatment of Madness" fails, like many other studies of that theme, for want of knowledge of Elizabethan psychology.

HARDIN CRAIG

Stanford University

The Fairy Queen: An Opera. By HENRY PURCELL. Cambridge: At the University Press. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931. Pp. xviii + 62. \$.70. Here we have the "book" of this opera (originally acted and printed in 1692) as it was "performed at the New Theatre, Cambridge, February 10-14, 1931, with the dialogue taken from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in place of the alterations made by the anonymous librettist of 1692." Mr. Dennis Arundell writes a brief introduction to

this interesting record of what must have been a delightful occasion. It seems rather a pity, however, that we are given a partial restoration of the text instead of the adaptation intact. But the librettist of 1692 did not tamper very grievously with Shakespeare's diction, and the reader to whom a copy of the old quarto is inaccessible will get from this pamphlet a reasonably fair idea of his curious additions and transpositions.

H. S.

An Introduction to American Prose. Edited by FREDERICK C. PRESCOTT and GERALD D. SANDERS. New York: Crofts, 1931. Pp. xvi + 757. This beautifully printed volume is large enough to include as much from the standard American prose writers as most anthologies contain and, in addition, extended selections from the historians, orators, and novelists, such as Crèvecoeur, Washington, Jefferson, Prescott, Parkman, Melville, Lincoln, Sarah Orne Jewett, Lafcadio Hearn, Paul Elmer More, and Sherwood Anderson.

R. D. H.

Übungsbuch zur deutschen Versgeschichte. Zusammengestellt von ANDREAS HEUSLER und HERMANN SCHNEIDER (= Germanische Bibliothek III. Reihe II. Band). Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1931. viii + 104 pp. Mk. 3. Dies Übungsbuch hat mit Vorbedacht in erster Linie Versarten berücksichtigt, welche der Lesung Probleme aufgeben. Die Verteilung der Stücke auf Althochdeutsch, Mittelhochdeutsch, Neuhochdeutsch ist etwa 20:40:40 Seiten, was für uns hierzulande, wo metrische Übungen sowieso spärlich gesät sind, nicht übermäßig günstig ist, denn außer Klopstock und Goethe kommen nur einige Proben von Eichendorff, Rückert, Platen und C. F. Meyer zur Geltung. Ich bedaure, daß z. B. Mörike mit seiner reichen und oft problematischen Versgestaltung und die neusten Dichter ganz ausgeschaltet sind. Aber was vorliegt, ist wohl gewählt, und es ist besonders zu begrüßen, daß Klopstock in Doppelfassung, Goethe mit Schlegelschen Verballhornungen vertreten sind. Anregung ist reichlich gegeben, umsomehr als sich die Herausgeber jeglicher theoretischen Erörterung enthalten haben.

Der Volks-Brockhaus, Deutsches Sach- und Sprachwörterbuch für Schule und Haus mit über 3600 Abbildungen und Karten im Text und auf 71 einfarbigen und bunten Tafel- und Kartenseiten sowie 36 Uebersichten und Zeittafeln. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1931. Students of German will find this popular edition, issued a few months ago, an indispensable handbook, similar in scope to

the *Petit Larousse illustré*. It is probably unique in the accuracy of its information, the succinctness of its definitions, the up-to-dateness of its tables and statistics, the technical perfection of its reproductions and, last not least, in the remarkably low price at which it is offered. Even the possessor of the four volume edition will find that its concentration is in many cases an improvement. A later edition might take into consideration the needs of foreign students by adding the plural of nouns and similar indispensable data.

German Poetry for Students. Chosen by A. WATSON BAIN. London: Macmillan and Co., 1931. Pp. xviii+236. This collection includes 75 poets from Luther to Lersch, most of them represented with one or two poems so that, for instance, Keller and Mosen, Hebbel and Körner, Lienhard and George are on an equal footing. Of the recent generation Agnes Miegel appears but not Lulu von Strauß and Torney; Bröger, Flex, and Lersch but not Werfel, Heym, and Ina Seidel. An appendix of sonnets neglects George and Rilke in favor of Schaukal. What is the principle of selection?

Die Soziologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung. By LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1931. Pp. iv+119. Mk. 5, 60. In this lucidly written and very compact treatise Levin Schücking sets forth the principles of his literary investigations, among which his studies on Shakespeare and on the Puritan family are perhaps the best known. Dismissing biological and *Volksgeist* theories as *petitiones principii*, he illustrates his thesis of *Geschmacksträgertypen* (representatives of public taste) with examples of historical developments in English and German literatures. He contrasts, for instance, the rôle of the scop and the mediaeval poet, who serve the taste of a king or feudal lord, with that of the Elizabethan playwright in regard to their audience; the position of the critic in the early nineteenth century, who professes to be the mouthpiece of the public with that of the modern propagandist for new modes of expression; the attitude of the novelist who carefully searches out the taste of his readers, with that of the esthete, who writes in conscious opposition to the *profanum vulgus*.

Although Schücking opposes Pinder's Hypothesis on the problem of generations in its salient points, he seems to concur with his views concerning the tendency of all art to become autonomous, to free itself from any esoteric influence, however much this process may deepen the gulf between the creative artist and the community.

He attributes this schism perhaps a little too onesidedly to the naturalistic movement (the characterization of which, by the way, is very striking). Pinder has shown how similar conditions of *Verselbstung*, a finally sterile autonomy, were reached in the different fields of artistic manifestation of mankind. But the very fact that the dangers of such disregard of art as a social function are recognized by creative as well as by critical minds in our day, may indicate that we have reached a turning point, or, at least, that we are willing to face the dilemma with open eyes.

E. F.

Henrik Ibsen, Œuvres Complètes. Traduites par P. G. LA CHESNAIS. 2 vols. Paris: Plon, 1931. Pp. cxxxi + 395 + 496. Fr. 80. When during the nineties a French company performed *The Master Builder* in Oslo, it is reported that Ibsen pronounced this performance the best that he had ever seen because it came very close to fulfilling all of the author's intentions. French appreciation of Ibsen on the stage and as a literary influence has always been very keen, and it is therefore to be welcomed that a definitive and critical translation is now appearing in Paris. In sixteen large volumes M. La Chesnais is presenting everything that Ibsen has written, except his letters. Two of these volumes are now off the press, and it is apparent that it is much more than a mere translation, for in these two books of about 400 pages each 375 are devoted to an account of Ibsen's environment and early years in Norway; thus the author gives us what must be considered a new Ibsen biography, making use of the mass of new material that has come to light since the centenary in 1928. Since the notes in these volumes are more complete than those in any other Ibsen translation, the work is of great value to any scholar interested in the Norwegian dramatist. M. La Chesnais is the author also of a book on Johan Bojer and the translator of many other works by Scandinavian authors. He knows his Norway very well and has done his translation with scholarliness and charm.

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